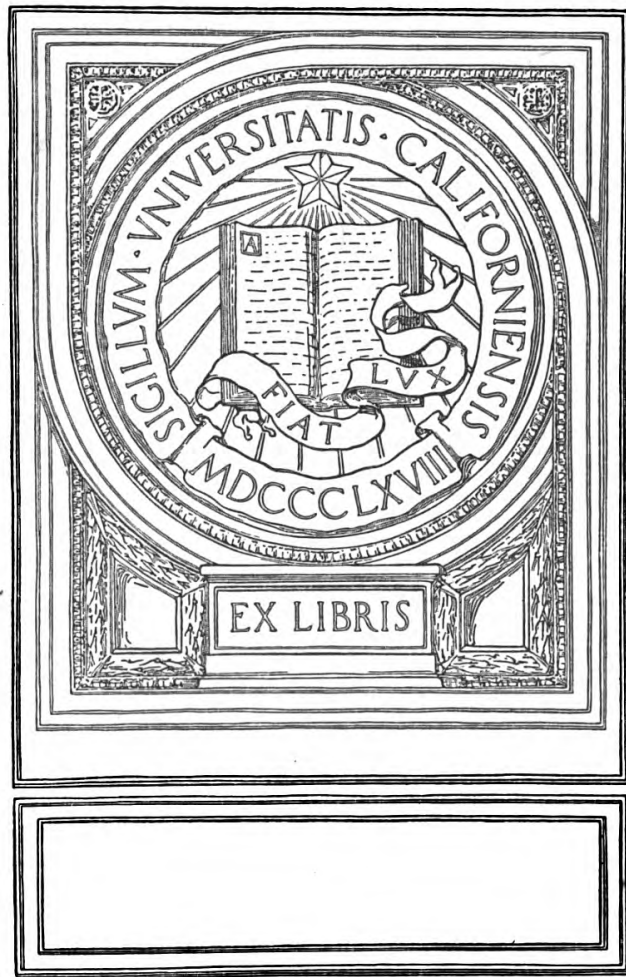


THE JEWS COME
★ TO AMERICA ★

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MASSERMAN AND BAKER



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THE JEWS COME TO AMERICA

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THE JEWS COME TO AMERICA

by

PAUL MASSERMAN and MAX BAKER

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PREFACE

THIS book is intended as an introductory and, in a sense, elementary study of that phase of Jewish history which has unfolded itself during the last four hundred years in America. It is not a comprehensive or exhaustive study, but rather a quick and hasty survey of the numerous movements and personalities which constitute the essential materials of that history. Because of the non-technical character of the book, certain phases of the history have been treated lightly.

The authors regret, for instance, that a more ample treatment could not have been given to such studies as that of Yiddish literature or the Yiddish press—two of the most important and interesting phenomena of the entire history. But the lay reader—to whom this book is in the main addressed—largely unfamiliar with even the outlines of American-Jewish history, demands a large canvas, a panoramic view, a complete, if lightly told, story. He prefers a telescopic, rather than a microscopic, view.

For this reason, we have not only excluded much that should go into a thorough study, but have included certain matter that perhaps has no legitimate place in a purely academic work. The latter refers, for instance, to the various perfunctory remarks on the Jew in the movies, the professions, business, and so on. The authors are fully aware that these remarks are inadequate and can be of no importance to a scholar. However, keeping in mind the purpose of the book, these remarks are not altogether out of place. As has already been said, this book is not intended for scholars, but for that portion of Jewry, and non-Jewry, which is largely unfamiliar with American-Jewish history, and wants to see it all spread before it for the first time.

The authors have tried to be as impartial as possible in the

writing of this book. If, however, some measure of partiality has crept in between the lines, it is the inevitable partiality of a Jew writing of his own race history. Chauvinism, on the other hand, is quite another thing and this we have tried honestly and always to avoid.

2

Three significant factors mark the history of the Jews in this country: first, the transplanting of nearly 3,000,000 Jews from Eastern Europe to the United States and the establishment of the United States as a Jewish center; second, the rapid and almost complete assimilation of the second and third generations of Jewish youth and their almost total loss of interest in Judaism; and third, the waning of religion.

The important period of Jewish history in America begins in 1881, with the inception of the Russian-Jewish influx. This short period saw not only the rise but the decline of the Yiddish press, Yiddish literature, the Yiddish stage, orthodoxy, the ghetto, religious, fraternal, social, and labor institutions.

The cornerstones of Judaism have always been its religion, its culture and its way of life. These cornerstones are crumbling in America. The religious content of American Judaism is definitely and inexorably on the wane. Orthodoxy has seen its heyday; Reform Judaism has become institutionalized and materialistic; Conservative Judaism straddles the fence and reaches a smaller section of Jewry than either Orthodoxy or Reform.

As in religion, so in culture. The future of the Yiddish tongue, of Yiddish literature, of the Yiddish press is dark. The older generation, the Yiddish-speaking generation, is dying out. The circulation of Yiddish papers is dwindling each year. Yiddish, itself, is spoken by a constantly diminishing portion of unassimilated Jewry, and is eschewed almost entirely by the younger generation.

The old way of life—the life of the Eastern European Jew—has not thrived in America. The circumstances, the atmos-

phere, and the social and political conditions which created and favored this way of life in the Russian Pale, in Rumania, in Galicia, did not exist here. Old ways of life had to give way to new. New ways of life, freed of the accumulations of century-old traditions, habits and customs, seemed foreign and non-Jewish to the older generation. Conflicts between the old Jew and the new Jew arose. These conflicts have not yet been settled.

The new Jew is entirely an American product. He is not only different from, but the very antithesis of, his forefathers who dwelt in the European ghettos. In essential respects he is more American than Jewish. He devotes his energies to American rather than Jewish causes. His mode of life in relation to Judaism is centrifugal rather than centripetal. He will not and cannot exist among the institutions created by Old World Jewry. At best he gives only lip service to these, and then usually for the sake of not offending his elders. His interests are primarily non-Jewish; he knows little, and cares less, about Jewish affairs, either in this country or abroad.

More significant than the conflict between the old Jew and the new Jew is the conflict within the new Jew himself. He has no staff of Orthodoxy to lean on; no haven of tradition to escape to; no faith to support him. These spiritual defenses against persecution and race hatred which were the old Jew's and which made life bearable, are not his. The new Jew, assimilated but undigested in the non-Jewish world, has only the pain but not the peace—the peace which is born of faith. He cannot console himself with the thought that the suffering in this world will be compensated for by bliss in the next; that, as one of God's Chosen People, he must bear the yoke patiently. He cannot feel the secret, terrible pleasure of martyrdom, but only its shame and disgrace. He cannot escape to the synagogue, for he has no synagogue; nor shroud himself in his faith, for he has no faith. No escape, no defense, no peace, no exhilarating sense of martyrdom, no smug feeling of spiritual superiority—the new Jew must find his escape

in other directions. He goes mad, becomes reckless, amasses fortunes, seeks success. His social inferiority finds compensation on another plane. Insanity is a frequent phenomenon among Jews. Large numbers of them are psychopathic. For the first time in the history of Judaism, a Jewish criminal class has arisen in America. On the other side of the picture, one sees Jews in great numbers achieving eminent success in every field of artistic, scientific and commercial endeavor. The new Jew is disturbed, troubled, burdened with a heritage which he has renounced as alien yet which will not set him free.

The distinctive and purely Jewish organizations in this country are almost wholly the work of immigrant Jews. The new Jew has created no institutions, no culture, no Jewish life of his own. He is building no new Jewish structures to take the place of the old, of those which he has renounced. Whether American Judaism can survive and be perpetuated without the creation of such new Jewish patterns of life remains to be seen.

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This book represents the equal endeavor of both authors. The order of their names on the book is purely arbitrary and indicates no difference whatever in either the quantity or quality of their individual and respective contributions.

PAUL MASSERMAN
MAX BAKER

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CHAPTER ONE

DISCOVERY

COLUMBUS AND THE JEWS

ON Friday, August 3, 1492, three ships with bellied sails ran before the wind in quest of new lands. The shores of Spain were fast receding, and soon there was but the vast green of sea, and the wide blue of sky, and the three white birds between. Spirits on board the ships ran high, for here was adventure and daring; and Columbus, standing alone, felt the thrill of a dream coming true.

It had not been an easy matter for Columbus to set sail; for his plans seemed far-fetched, and the monarchs of Spain and Portugal were skeptical. King Jaõa would not listen at all, partly because Vechino, who was an advisor of the king, and a Jew of great scientific knowledge, persuaded him against it. So Columbus went to Spain, and he came before the royal couple. But Ferdinand was not interested, and Isabella had no money.

Luckily for Columbus, there were in Spain at this time three men with sufficient foresight to see true value in his dream. They were Luis de Santangel and Gabriel Sanchez, both of them Marranos, or converted Jews; and Juan Cabrero, a gentleman of Jewish descent. Of the three, Luis de Santangel was the most influential, for, although his relatives had been persecuted by the Inquisition, he himself was the farmer of royal taxes and the head of a large commercial house in Valencia, to say nothing of his being the confidant of King Ferdinand and later the Chancellor of Aragon.

Now these men came before Isabella and told her of the young man who had come from Portugal and of his great plan. At first the Queen was indifferent, but soon her imagination,

too, caught fire, and she said that if only she had money, or ~~hadn't already pawned~~ her jewels to pay for the wars, she would fit out a fine fleet for the brave adventurer. Then ~~Sant-angel answered that~~ he would see what he could do, and before many days had passed he raised and lent to the Spanish treasury 17,000 ducats at no interest. With this money, Isabella fitted out three tall ships, with provisions to last for twelve months, and bade God-speed to Columbus on his great voyage. On August the third he sailed from Palos; on September the sixth he left the roadstead of Gomera; and three days later the breeze sprang up which carried his three caravels safely across the Atlantic.

At this time, too, there lived a Jew named Abraham Ben Samuel Zacuto, who was the greatest of Spanish astronomers, and far-famed as a mathematician and historian; and from him Columbus received maps and tables and nautical instruments, all of which, no doubt, aided Columbus a great deal. But Zacuto was little repaid for this, for he was exiled from Spain during the Inquisition, and later was forced to flee with his son from Lisbon, although he had been appointed court astronomer and historiographer to John II of Portugal. In Turkey, some time after 1510, he lay down to rest with his fathers.

THE INQUISITION

One day, while the caravels were nosing their way through furrows of sea, there moved across the water the grey shadow of a ship bound also for strange lands. On this ship were seekers, too, but their spirits were not buoyant with the song of high adventure. Here were men and women and children, huddled closely together, fleeing the shadow of death; and the ship was filled with wailing and prayer and the sorrows and pain of exile. For on the second day of August, one day before Columbus set sail for a new route to India, more than 300,000 Jews were torn from their homes in Spain, and ordered to

take their bones elsewhere.¹ Seekers all were they: Columbus seeking new lands to build up new empires and new trade and new wealth for the treasuries of Spain; Jews seeking a new home, a new spot to rest their heads in peace.

But the Inquisition was not a new thing. For the Jew it was an old story, reasserting itself now, perhaps, with a new fury. Established early in the reigns of the Emperors Justinian and Theodosius as a court for the punishment of infidels and enemies of the Church, the Inquisition was little heard of until the beginning of the thirteenth century, when, because of the spread of the heretical sect of the Albigenses, tribunals of the Inquisition were organized in various parts of France. At first the Jews were left alone, except for an occasional burning of Hebrew books which were considered heretical. But soon the fires of the Inquisition, fanned by the fanaticism of the Catholic Church, spread wider and wider; and the smoke filled the nostrils of all Spain; and Jews burned so that the Christian faith might live.

In the reigns of Ferdinand V, and Isabella the Catholic, the Inquisition made its way into the United Kingdoms of Castille, Aragon, and Navarre; and was directed chiefly against the Jew and the Moor. So cruel were the persecutions that during the year 1381 thousands of Jews accepted baptism in order to save their lives. Secretly, though, many of them prayed to their God, and clung desperately and defiantly to the faith of their fathers.

The inquisitors, however, were not to be outwitted. Alfonso de Ojeda, a Dominican prior, whispered into the ear of Ferdinand that the Marranos were committing grievous offenses against the faith, and that they should be punished. In his mind's eye, Don Ferdinand saw his coffers growing fat with Jewish plunder; and the vision pleased him. So he gave his assent, and the hooded monk went his way.

On the seventeenth day of September, 1480, the tribunal

¹ So impressed was Columbus with the strikingly ironic coincidence of the two events, that his journal opens up with a comment on it.

of the Holy Inquisition was appointed. It was composed of men well fitted for the work, for the Dominican Miguel Morillo, inquisitor in the province of Roussillon, was famed as a converter of heretics; and Juan de San Martin, and the abbot Juan Ruez, and Juan Lopez del Barco were by no means novices. Six months later they established themselves in the convents of St. Paul at Seville. Now the Inquisition took on a new vigor, and Spain grew sick with the terror and horror of it. Marranos, Jews, Moors, backsliders were ferreted out and put upon the rack to confess their heresy and reveal the names of other sinners. Day by day the lamentations grew, and Jews, with a last prayer on their lips, and their eyes already seeing a new glory, burned at the stake.

Now arose a poser. How was one to distinguish a heretic or an apostate? The black-robed inquisitors puzzled their heads over it, and in due time they issued a decree indicating the way in which backsliding Marranos might be detected. For instance:

"If they celebrate the Sabbath, wear a clean shirt or better garments, spread a clean tablecloth, light no fire, eat the food which has been cooked overnight in the oven, or perform no work on that day; if they eat meat during Lent; if they take neither meat nor drink on the Day of Atonement; go barefoot or ask forgiveness on that day; if they celebrate the Passover with unleavened bread, or eat bitter herbs; if on the Feast of Tabernacles they use green branches or send fruits as gifts to friends, if they marry according to Jewish customs or take Jewish names; if they circumcize their boys or observe the *hadas*, that is, celebrate the seventh night after the birth of a child by filling a vessel with water, throwing in gold, silver, pearls, and grain, and then bathing the child while certain prayers are recited; if they throw a piece of dough in the stove before baking; if they wash their hands before praying, bless a cup of wine before meals and pass it around among the people at the table, if they pronounce blessings while

slaughtering poultry, cover blood with earth, separate the veins from the meat, soak the flesh in water before cooking, and cleanse it from blood; if they eat no pork, hare, rabbits, or eels; if, soon after baptizing a child, they wash with water the spot touched by the oil; give Old Testament names to their children by the laying on of hands; if the women do not attend church within forty days after confinement; if the dying turn toward the wall; if they wash a corpse with warm water; if they recite the psalms without adding at the end; 'Glory be to the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost!' " etc.

What a coup d'état this was! What Jew could escape this net? The iron bars of the dungeons swung open and closed upon fifteen thousand Jewish heretics. On January 6, 1481, the first auto da fé was held at Moloch. It is a large arena, and a holiday spirit is in the air. Thousands of spectators are assembled, and there is much talk and gesticulating. Then a momentary hush. There come the priests in slow, solemn procession. And now the grandees in rich black dress, with banners and pennons flying. A shout goes up. Quick, Jew, the fire is waiting! Here come the miserable victims in their short, clinging garments, painted with red crosses and flames and figures of devils. The inquisitors step forward and pronounce sentence upon the victims. In another instant it is all over; and at nightfall there are heaps of ashes where Jews had stood before. . . .

In May, 1483, Thomas de Torquemada, then sixty-three years old and prior of a monastery at Segovia, was appointed by the Pope Inquisitor-General of Spain. Bitter, cruel, fiendish, his heart blacker than his cowl, Torquemada was the dominant spirit, the very soul of the Inquisition. He began at once to tighten the screws of the rack, and spread the nets of the Inquisition wider and wider, until not a corner of Spain was without its tribunal. Hypocritical and fanatical Dominicans filled the offices of the Inquisition, and under the influence of Torquemada, they perpetrated the most hideous crimes. In quick

succession tribunals were established in Cordova, Jaen, Villarel, and Toledo. Dungeons multiplied so that Spain was soon filled with the stench of rotting corpses and putrefaction and the wholesale murder of innocent Jews.

Torquemada put the Inquisition on a practical working basis. Assembling about him the entire body of inquisitors, he drew up for their consideration a code of laws called the "Constitutions," which was issued on October 29, 1484. It was a masterpiece of cruelty and hideousness in design and purpose, and Torquemada was satisfied. One decree provided for a respite of thirty to forty days for those who, accused of Judaizing, could voluntarily confess their guilt. Upon putting their confession in writing, paying a small fine, and answering exactly all questions asked them, they were let off without punishment. Those who confessed after the respite lost their property and were imprisoned for life. Their descendants could never hold public office, nor could they wear garments of silk or wool, embroidered with gold and precious jewels, but were condemned to wear the fiery cross forever. If a suspected Marrano could not be convicted of apostasy he was to be tortured; if he confessed on the rack he was condemned; if he denied the charges against him, he was tortured until a confession was forced with blood from his lips. In short, Torquemada made sure that a Marrano could not prove his innocence.

Life imprisonment was hardly better than death by fire. The prisons were small, dark, damp, and foul. The food was meager and was paid for by the prisoners themselves. Only water was given them without charge. Here they rotted away, thousands and thousands of them in dark, damp dungeons, into which no shred of sunlight ever found its way.

Of course there were cries of opposition. Marranos and Christians appealed to Ferdinand to put a check to the atrocities of Torquemada and his murderous tribe. But Ferdinand put his fingers to his ears. He was resolved to exterminate the New-Christians and enrich himself with their possessions, and that put an end to the matter. So Torquemada

went his way unrestrained, and before the end of the fifteenth century there were nearly twelve tribunals in Spain. Fifteen years he ruled with an iron hand and during these years more than eight thousand Jews and Marranos were burned alive, and six thousand in effigy.

Torquemada was not disappointed in his successor. The Dominican Diego Deza was a man after his own heart. A friend and patron of Columbus, and of Jewish descent on his mother's side (he was at one time accused of Judaizing, but nothing came of it), Diego Deza was not a whit less cruel than his predecessor. His right-hand man and tool was Roderiquez Lucero, the inquisitor of Cordova, a monster so vile that Gonzalo de Avora wrote to Alamazon, the royal secretary: "Deza, Lucero, and Juan de La Fuente have dishonored the provinces; they have no regard either for God or Justice; they kill or steal or dishonor the women and girls to the disgrace of the Christian faith." Some time afterwards, when Ferdinand had reascended the throne after Philip's sudden death, Deza was dismissed and in his place was appointed Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo. This was in June of 1507, and in May of the following year the Supreme Council of the Inquisition decided to imprison Lucero as punishment for his terrible crimes. One day he was put in chains and taken to Burgos and confined in a castle where he spent the rest of his days.

But cutting off one branch does not destroy the tree. Ximenes was no more tolerant than either Torquemada or Lucero. Like a fire fanned by a great wind, the Inquisition spread unchecked, despite appeals to the King and bulls from the Pope. Charles V became an ardent supporter of the Inquisition, and under the Philips the Inquisition flourished and finally burned itself out until only a few embers remained. Philip II was a cruel and despotic monarch; under the reign of the weak Philip III the Inquisition grew; Philip IV looked on unmoved at the spectacle of horror. The auto da fé became a great and popular festival, and people flocked to it as to a bull fight. During the forty-six years of the reign of

Philip V the Inquisition celebrated its greatest triumphs. More than fifteen hundred people were burned alive, and nearly twelve thousand were severely punished. Under the rulerships of Philips the VI and VII the powers of the Inquisition were diminished and restricted. Judaizers were no longer burned, and the auto da fé became a less frequent event. In 1808 King Joseph Bonaparte abrogated the Inquisition, and in 1813 it was condemned by the Cortes. It sung its swan's song in the reign of Ferdinand VII. After 1834 the Inquisition was a thing of the past in Spain, and in the following year its property was used as payment upon the public debt. Jews died, but so did Spain; for she never regained the glory that once was hers.

THE EXPULSION FROM SPAIN

For ten years (1481-1491) Christian Spain fought with Moorish Granada, and Villarís, the royal treasurer, filled the royal coffers with Jewish coin. On the 25th day of November, 1491, Muley Abu-Abdullah, the King of Granada, seeing that it was useless to fight the Spanish any longer, signed a secret treaty with Ferdinand and Isabella, surrendering the town and its territory, but insuring for the Moors, in return for the taxes which they were to pay to Spain, religious freedom, and the right to continue their old ways of living. These rights were extended to the Moorish pseudo-Christians, and to the Jews of the capital of Granada, of the Albaicín quarter, the suburbs and the Alpujarres. On the second day of January in the year 1492, the King and Queen of Spain, in all their pomp and glory, entered the Mahomedan kingdom, and Muley Abu-Abdullah, with a last sigh, left it. Now was the time for rejoicing; Granada had fallen before Spain and the soldiers of Christ; the whole Pyrenean peninsula was again Christian as it had been eight hundred years before. The Jews looked on and their hearts bode ill.

Now that the Spanish treasury was fat with the wealth and

plunder of Granada, of what use were the Jews? They were only a thorn in the side of Christian Spain. Many of them, Marranos, had risen to high positions in the government. Were the Jews, then, better than the Moors? Torquemada was incensed. He spoke to Isabella and Isabella spoke to Ferdinand and all three put their heads together and decided that the Jews must leave Spain. They communicated their intent to Pope Innocent VII, but that Christian father of fourteen children objected to the plan. Not at all put out by this, the Spanish sovereigns decided to banish the Jews without the permission of the Pope.

Then one day came a proclamation from the palace of the Alhambra that rang and echoed throughout the whole of Spain. Jews grew sick with fear, and bowed down in prayer; and tears mingled with the daily bread. Within four months of the 31st day of March, 1492, Castile and Aragon, Sicily and Sardinia must be rid of their Jews. Gold, silver, precious jewels, and money of the realm, these they were not permitted to take with them; only certain goods and chattels. Christians were forbidden to give aid or shelter to any Jew after the date of expulsion. Isabella and Ferdinand were firm in their intent, and they could not be prevailed upon. Abrabanel, a wealthy Jew and intimate with the majesties of Spain and Portugal, offered Ferdinand great sums of money if he would remove the edict. But Ferdinand shrugged his shoulders; and through the kingdom ran heralds shouting the glad tidings that no Jew would dirty the soil of Spain after the last day of July.

It was a period of great misery and suffering for the Jews. Here, in Spain, they had grown up and lived for many years, and here they had made their homes and nourished their young; here they had become firmly rooted, and here were the graves of their fathers. Here they had established themselves and built their little fortunes; here they had found a resting place; and now, to be torn away from it all, to be uprooted, as it were, and cast out, to be exiled penniless to seek a

home among strangers, to be forced to start the travail all over again—it was a bitter blow.

Spain underwent an economic revolution. Business and capital, which had been to a great extent in the control of Jews and Marranos, suddenly changed hands. Jews who owned land were forced to part with it overnight for whatever they could get. Estates, houses, property were sold for a song. Prices dropped to absurd levels. Torquemada ordered the Christians to have no dealings with the Jews. The Rabbis went among their people and cried out for them to remain strong and to cling to the Law and their covenant with God. Many Jews, in desperation, went over to the Christian Church, among them Abraham Senior, the rich tax-collector and chief rabbi. The family name of Coronel was taken by all the new Christians, and the descendants of many of them rose in later years to high position and fame.

As the day of expulsion drew near Jews and Marranos became banded together as one, and they helped and encouraged each other with food and good cheer. God would not forsake them; they were still his children. Rabbi Isaac Aboab with a company of Jews of rank came before King Jaõa II of Portugal, and obtained permission for Jews to settle there, and a promise of safe passage through the country. Jews assembled in the cemeteries and shed their tears on the graves of their fathers; and some of them tore up the tombstones to carry away with them as memorials.

On August the second, the ninth day of Ab, 300,000 Jews left Spain. They went to the Kingdom of Navarre, to Portugal, to Africa, Italy, and Turkey. With staff in hand and bundle on back they made their way among strange peoples. But music made their travail lighter, for pipers and drummers went before them; and for a while the wanderers forgot their grief. Out of Spain went one-twentieth of the country's population; out of it went its wealth and its brains; out of it went its future.

THE JEWS AND THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA

Suddenly, a shout went up. The decks became alive with quick voices. The hazy mass in the distance slowly took on a definite form; and Columbus reveled in the fancy that he had at last reached the eastern coast of Asia, the land of fabulous wealth and of the great Khan. Seventy days of sailing whet the appetite for a glimpse of land; and the men on board the three ships ached for the touch of earth and the sight of growing things.

During the long days of sailing in an open sea, with only the mysterious elements for company—while Columbus dreamed of new lands and the men dreamed of gold—five solitary figures dreamed of Spain; and dreaming, felt sick with the horror of it. The zest of adventure could not make them forget what they had left behind; for a Marrano cannot forget that he is a Jew.

Little is known of these five crypto-Jews who joined the visionary navigator in his mad adventure. Alfonso de la Calle is a shadowy figure. Beyond the fact that he was a resident of the Jew's Lane and that he died in Hispaniola, May 23, 1503, little else is known of him. Of Roderigo Sanchez, we are told that he came from Segovia, that he was a distinguished personage, that he was related to Gabriel Sanchez, the royal treasurer, and that he sailed at the express bidding of the very Christian Queen of Spain. It is said further of Roderigo, that he was among the select few who stood near Columbus on the occasion of the first landing. Then there are Maestro Bernal, a physician of Tortosa, who was at one time accused of Judaizing and faced a court of Inquisition at Valencia in the year 1490; and Marco, a surgeon, of whom so little is known that he must be dismissed without another word. But one figure stands out as a personality and a Jew—Luis de Torres—spoken of by Washington Irving in his life

of Columbus as an Israelite. Though baptized shortly before he sailed, Torres was undisputably of Jewish blood.

Torres was a man of learning and culture. He was well versed in Hebrew, Chaldaic, and Arabic, and apparently followed the profession of interpreter. Indeed, it was in that capacity that he served on the expedition; although, as it turned out, his attainments did him very little good.

On the twelfth day of October, 1492, Columbus reached the end of his first voyage, landing on one of the Bahama Islands which he called Salvadore. For a month he reconnoitered, pushing himself and his band far into the interior, until one day they came upon a strange people, living the life of the savage and speaking a tongue foreign to Columbus. Even Torres, the linguist, could not make head or tail of what they were saying. Unaware that he was standing on the soil of Cuba, but believing himself on the threshold of Cathay, Columbus sent two men with letters and gifts to negotiate with the oriental potentate in the interests of the Castilian crown. Of the two good-will ambassadors, one was Luis de Torres, the Jew; and the other Roderigo de Jerez, a Christian gentleman of Ayamonte.

Into the wilderness went the embassy and before long they came into a small village of some fifty dwellings, and a thousand inhabitants. But this was not the city of the Khan! No glorious palaces were here, resplendent with gold and precious jewels; nor the color and glamor and mystery of the Orient. Instead, all was drab here, and bare, simple and crude. The natives looked upon the two men with wonder, and the women kissed them and examined them to see if they were really made of flesh and bone. But the Indian chief received them warmly, and was genuinely sorry to see them leave after their week-end visit.

Unfortunately, the natives could not speak Arabic or Chaldean, and Torres knew nothing about the Indian tongue. The two Spaniards were amused at the life they saw about them, and Torres wondered greatly at the curious spectacle of men

and women with "firebrands" in their mouths from which issued clouds of smoke. (Torres and Roderigo de Jerez were the first, probably, to introduce the use of tobacco in Europe.)

Torres did not return with Columbus, but settled himself in Cuba, and here it was he died. Columbus made a second voyage to the New World (March 23, 1493) and this time also it was Jewish money that launched the caravels. By a royal decree, published November 23, 1492, the State Treasury confiscated all money, jewelry, and property which had been taken from the Jews at the time of their expulsion. About 8,000,000 maravedis were thus appropriated; and with this money, Francisco Pinello, treasurer in Seville, helped meet the cost of Columbus' second expedition.

The last days of Columbus were not happy ones. Disgrace and misfortune came upon him, and the next generation placed his laurels upon the head of another. In 1509 he lost his two last friends—two men who had remained faithful to him to the very end—Luis de Santangel and Gabriel Sanchez. In the following year, friendless and forgotten, Columbus drew his last breath and died.

CHAPTER TWO

THE JEW IN THE NEW WORLD

HOW THE JEW FARED IN SPANISH AMERICA

IN a sense, the expulsion from Spain was a good thing for the Jew. Eventually, it brought him to America—although it was more than a hundred years before he could make himself articulate in the new world. For a long time the Jew in Spanish America was no better off than he had been in Spain. The arm of the Inquisition was a long one, and it reached across the sea to plant its stakes in the virgin soil.¹

The earliest history of the Jew in America is a record of persecution and suffering; of defiant heroism and sheer martyrdom; of a mad yearning for that free, unmolested communion with God that is the spiritual sustenance of the Jew. It is not a clear, well-defined record, for it is shrouded in secrecy, intrigue, and simulation. The Jew was forbidden to migrate to the Spanish colonies, and it was only through deception and under cover of seeming conformity to Catholic Christianity that he could live and work in the new world. Among the first Jewish emigrants to Spanish America were young children who had been torn from the arms of their parents during the Inquisition in Spain, and sent to her colonies to live and grow up as Christians. In 1502 Juan Sanchez, a Marrano of Saragossa, obtained permission from the Spanish crown to trade with her colonies in America; and during the next few years his caravels touched at Mexico and Peru, Haiti and Santo Domingo. There followed him other Marranos, and fugitive

¹ "Where the history of the Jews in Spain ends, that of the Jew in America begins; the Inquisition is the last chapter of the confessions of Judaism on the Pyrenean peninsula, and the first chapter on the continent of the western hemisphere."—Dr. M. Kayserling.

Jews, and soon their numbers grew to such proportions that the good Queen Juanna of Castille felt compelled to introduce the Inquisition in her new territories. Cardinal Ximenes de Cisneron, who was the Inquisitor-General of Spain, appointed his good friend, Fray Juan Quevedo, the exalted Bishop of Cuba, delegate for Spanish America, with clear instructions for the extermination of Jews and Marranos from the Christian dominions of Spain. On the 25th of May, 1520, Alfonso Manso, the Bishop of Porto-Rico, and Pedro de Cordova, Vice-Provincial of the Dominicans, were chosen by his Majesty, Charles V, Inquisitors of the Indies and islands of the ocean. The whole machinery of the Inquisition was established; the wheels were set in motion; and the monks and Jesuits who had settled in Mexico, Peru, Central America and the West Indies put themselves religiously to the task of stamping out heresy in the New World.

But despite the laws against them and the cruelty of the Holy Office, Marranos and Jews came to America in considerable numbers, until Philip III lost his temper and decided once for all to put a stop to it. At the beginning of the seventeenth century he published an anti-immigration law, restricting certain classes from settling in the Spanish colonies:

X "We command and decree that no one recently converted to our holy faith, be he Moor or Jew, or the offspring of these, should settle in our Indies without our distinct permission. Furthermore, we forbid most emphatically the immigration into Spain of any one . . . newly reconciled with the Church; of the child or grandchild of any person who has been either burned as a heretic or otherwise punished for the crime of heresy, through either male or female descent. Should any one presume to violate this law, his goods will be confiscated in behalf of the royal treasury and upon him the full measure of our grace or disgrace shall fall, so that under any circumstances and for all times he shall be banished from our Indies. Whosoever does not possess personal effects,

however, should atone for his transgression by the public infliction of one hundred lashes."²

Lashes there were plenty, but immigration did not cease. Merchants who paid sufficient taxes for their commercial privileges were permitted to travel and carry on their trade anywhere they chose. The officials could not harden their hearts or close their eyes to a bribe. Jewish coin crossed Christian palm; there was a hurried, secret embarkation; and the Inquisitors across the sea made ready the funeral pyre. . . .

The Holy Office in Spanish America was no sooner established than it began its work with a spirit and zeal that would have pleased even the exacting Torquemada. In Mexico, in Cartagena, and in Lima the Inquisition asserted itself with a tyrannic viciousness that equalled the bitterest extravagances in Spain. In the year 1574, in a large public square, was celebrated the first auto da fé in the New World. Eighty Judaizers burned that day, while bronze savages marveled at the sight, and the priests sang. Not long after, Juan Alvarez, a physician of Zafra, his wife, children, and nephew, were fed to the flames at Lima. A few years later, in 1582, Manuel Lopez was led to the stake proudly proclaiming himself an Israelite and a follower of the law of Moses. Duarte Nunez de Cea laughed in the face of his judges, and died as he had lived, a noble Jew. In Mexico, Don Thomas Trebino de Sobremonite burned at the stake without a groan, mocking, the "Pope and his hirelings" and taunting his tormentors with his last breath: "That's right, burn wood, pile it on, thick and fast; it costs you nothing, the fire is built with my money!"

Barely a hundred years after the discovery and conquest of Peru by Francisco Pizarro in 1524, the Inquisition was already in full swing there. On the 9th day of January, 1570, there came to Lima, the capital of Peru, the "Licienciado," Servan de Cerezuela, carrying with him a royal grant issued by Philip

² Original document printed in *Ordenanzas Preales para la Contratacion de Seville, etc.* (Valladolid, 1664). See also Rule's "History of the Inquisition," l.c. pp. 18-19; and *Am. Jew. Hist. Pubs.* No. 4, p. 106.

II, establishing in the provinces of South America the Holy Office of the Inquisition. "Whereas," ran the preamble, "the Very Reverend Father in Christ, Cardinal Siguenza, President of our Council, Inquisitor-General Apostolic in our dominions and Seignories, with the advice of our Council of the General Inquisition, and after consultation with Ourselves, deems it highly necessary and convenient for the augmentation and conservation of our sacred Catholic Faith and Christian Religion to establish and place the Holy Office of the Inquisition in the said provinces, now we ordain and provide accordingly. . . ."³

Shortly after 1641 there was printed in Lima a general edict addressed to the inhabitants of the Archbishoprics of Los Reyes (Lima) and Los Charcos, the Bishoprics of Quito, Cuzco, Rio de La Platta, Paraguay, Tucuman, Santiago and Concepcion of the Dominions of Chile, La Paz (Bolivia), Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Guamanga, Arrequippa and Trixillo, ordering them (the inhabitants) to inform the Inquisitors of anyone whom they suspected of heresy; and there were set forth explicit directions for the detection of Jews, Mohammedans, Lutherans, and Alumbrados ("persons who have made themselves saints and pretend to Ecstasies and Revelations").

About the year 1630, there was a large influx of Jews to Peru. Already towards the end of the sixteenth century there was a considerable number of Jews in Chile, Argentina, Cartagena, and La Platta, and Christians were beginning to complain. According to an official document of the time the Jews had "early made themselves master of the situation, commanding almost exclusively all the commerce of the Kingdom, the thoroughfare called 'The Street of the Merchants' belonging to them alone. They laid their traps everywhere; they owned all the dry-goods stores, the very squares, where they sold their wares from out of chests and boxes; the linen drapers' court; the Circles of the Plaza; and more besides, were all literally theirs. Thus they monopolized the retail trade and traffic;

³Am. Jew. Hist. Pubs. No. 12, p. 5.

so that from gold brocade to sackcloth, and from diamond to cumin-seed, everything went through their hands."

About this time, on April 29, 1627, there was arrested, in the city of Concepcion, Chile, a certain Francisco Maldonado de Silva, a physician-surgeon, born of Christian parents in San Miguel, Province of Tucuman, and imprisoned in a cell of the convent of San Domingo. On July 8, 1626, his sister, Doña Isabela Maldonada, a fervent Christian, had come before the Commissioner of the city of Santiago de Chile, and had testified that her brother was a Jew, a heretic, an observer of the Jewish Feasts and Fasts; that he put on a clean shirt on the Sabbath, and had tried, on numerous occasions, to convert her. It developed, further, that his father and brother had been reconciled by the Inquisition at an auto da fé in Lima in 1605; and when a monk was sent to sound him out, he maintained stoutly that as a Jew he had lived, and as a Jew would die. They argued, but de Silva was firm. Another friar was sent, and still another, and even Maestro Fray Alfonso de Almeida, calificador of the Inquisition came to him; but he met their debates with sharp polemic, and baffled them with Talmudic reasoning and a fanatic devotion to the religion of Moses.

On July 23, 1627, he was transported to Lima, where he was confined in a secret cell of the Inquisition. That same night he was brought before the tribunal, and the first hearing took place. When he was asked to take the customary oath by laying his hand upon the crucifix on the table, he said to the presiding judge: "Señor, I am a Jew. I profess the religion of Moses; I will live and die in it, and, if it is necessary to swear, I take my oath by the living God, who is in heaven and earth, the God of Israel; and by this oath, according to the religion of Moses, I vow to tell the truth. . . ." ⁴ In answer to the questions put to him he declared that on his mother's side, Doña Alaonsa Maldonada, he was a Christian; that he had been christened and baptized in the city where he was

⁴ Am. Jew. Hist. Pubs. No. 11, p. 170.

born; that up to his eighteenth year he had gone to confession and mass regularly; that one day he had read the controversial tract "Scrutinio Scripturarum" (written by the apostate, Paul of Burgos); that this work had whetted his desire to learn which was the true religion; that his father had then told him to study his Bible attentively, for therein he would learn about the religion of Moses; and that from that day on he had become a believing Jew, although he kept up, as a sham, certain practices and ceremonies of his former faith.

On July 27, 1627, a second hearing was held. He faced his judges fearlessly, and avowed that he had faithfully observed the Jewish Sabbath. On a later date, he himself asked for a hearing and deposed that he had circumcized himself in his lodgings in Santiago de Chile during his wife's absence from the city; that he had ridiculed the Trinity; and that his father had once told him that Jesus possessed occult powers, by means of which he could attract the ignorant rabble.

For twelve years the Inquisitors battled for the soul of Francisco de Silva. Theologians and scholars, famed for their erudition, were appointed to dispute and reason with him, and to convert him, if possible, to the Christian faith. There came to him Fray Luis de Bilbao, Dominican friar, first professor of theology at the University; Father Andreu Hernandez, called the most learned man in the Kingdom; Fray Alonzo Bricino, professor emeritus of theology, of the order of Franciscans; and Dr. Pedro de Ortega, magisterial Canon of the cathedral of Lima; but de Silva was adamant. He confounded his opponents with quotations and extracts from the Books of Moses; and then he begged to be left alone to die for the glory of his faith.

De Silva had grown old, and feeble, and only his burning zeal sustained him. Starved and emaciated, it was only through a miracle of nature that his bones hung together. But his spirit burned steadily like a trimmed lamp; and in the long years of solitary confinement in the dark dungeons of the Inquisition he wrote down on parchment the words that

flamed within him, and bound the loose pages together into a book, and this was his bread and water.

In the shadow of his cell the old man had stored a quantity of maize husks which he had asked for as a substitute for bread. These he twisted together into a taut rope, and one day, secretly, he swung himself out of his cell. His small, dark figure slipped along grey stone walls, and made its way into two adjacent cells. When it left them, two Catholics—one accused of bigamy, and the other of breaking the vows of celibacy—had been converted to Judaism. Such was the mission of de Silva.

On January 23, 1639, a great auto da fé was held at Lima, the capital of Peru. For fifty days men had labored to build the vast arena. Great masses of people were there; for even the prisoners had been let out this day to join in the celebration. There is a shout, and a craning of necks, and all eyes are on the eleven Judaizers who file in, all clad in sambetinos and carrying green crosses—all, except de Silva, a frail shadow of a man, with the little books he had written fastened around his neck like a rosary.

After the long years of suffering and privation, the end was quick and merciful. When the death sentence was read his spirit flared up in a great cry of triumph:

"This is the will of the Lord. I shall see the God of Israel face to face."⁵

THE JEW IN THE PORTUGUESE COLONIES

Several years after the Jewish exile from Spain, Queen Isabella made it clear to King Manuel of Portugal, her future son-in-law, that unless he expelled the Jews from his dominions

⁵ Some say that a terrible storm raged that day, that trees were torn from the earth, and steeples crashed, and that the great city of Lima was shaken to its very foundations. And some say that when De Silva was thrown into the flames a tempestuous wind arose that annihilated the house in which he had been condemned.

she would never again set foot there. King Manuel, being a gentleman of blood, forthwith proceeded, in the year 1497, to banish the Jews from his realm, despite the fact that several members of the State Council advised him against it. They argued that the Jews were an industrious and diligent people, who, if driven out of Portugal, would probably settle in Africa and give aid to the Mohammedans against the interests of the mother country. The king, however, was interested in uniting the whole peninsula under his rulership by marrying a Spanish princess, the young widow of the Infante of Portugal, and allowed himself to be influenced by Isabella of Castile. On November 30, 1496, Isabella and Manuel put their names to the marriage contract, and on December 4, of the same year, the king issued a decree at Muja ordering all Jews to leave Portugal before the end of October, 1497, on pain of death, and confiscation of property. It was decreed, further, that any Christian found concealing or aiding a Jew after the date of expulsion would forfeit his property; and that no future ruler should, under any circumstance or pretext, permit Jews to reside in the Kingdom.

King Manuel was not an utter fool. Realizing well the important part the Jews had played in the growth of his empire, and being loath to lose such an able people, he ordered that on a certain day all Jewish children between the ages of four and twenty should be taken from their parents and brought up as Christians at the expense of the king. On Sunday, the first day of Passover, 1497, thousands of Jewish children were seized and forcibly baptized. It was a day of horror and lamentation. Out of pity and compassion many Christians concealed Jewish children so that they might not be separated from their parents. Mothers and fathers, mad with anguish, murdered their own children and then killed themselves.

When the day of expulsion drew near, thousands of Jews, following the king's order, flocked into Lisbon, where they were met by the converted Mestre Nicalao, body physician

to the young queen, and Pedro de Castro, a churchman and brother of Nicalao, both of whom tried their best, by subtle persuasion and varied promises, to convert the twenty thousand hungry Jews to Christianity. But their attempts were futile, and all their fine talk in vain. Rough hands were laid upon the heads and beards of young men, and they were dragged into the church to be baptized. . . .

Two years after the expulsion of the Jews from Portugal, King Manuel, worried over the continual departure of new-Christians from his kingdom, issued a decree, on April 20, 1499, prohibiting new-Christians from leaving Portugal without the royal permission. Two years later, shortly following a savage massacre instigated by the Dominican friars in Lisbon in which more than two thousand Jews were burned in pyres, the restriction was removed, but in 1521 it was put into effect again. In 1557 King Sebastian came to the throne. He was a man susceptible to reason, and when the Marranos offered him 250,000 ducats for the right of free departure, he took the money and gave his consent. During his reign of twenty-one years (1557-1578) Portugal sent annually two shiploads of Jews, criminals, and those condemned by the Inquisition, to Brazil. Marranos and Jews soon settled in all the Portuguese colonies. Many of them became prosperous, and with prosperity came a sense of security and freedom. Some began to assert themselves and to practice Judaism openly. The result was a greater activity on the part of the Holy Office; and Judaizers were sent back to Portugal to burn upon their native soil.

The history of the Jews in the Portuguese colonies is the history of the Jews in Brazil. Discovered by Vincenti Yanez Pinzon in 1499, and a year later by Pedro Alvarez de Cabral, a Portuguese, the southeastern coast of Brazil became the possession of Portugal by right of discovery, and a permanent settlement was made there in 1531. Before many years had gone by Jews began to filter into the country, and their num-

bers became greatly augmented by the influx of Jews banished by the Portuguese Inquisition to Brazil.

Although the agents of the Holy Office were residents in Brazil from the very inception of Portuguese colonization, the Inquisition itself, for some strange reason, was never officially established there. Contrary to the usual practices in the Spanish colonies, Portuguese Judaizers were not punished in Brazil, but were sent back to Portugal to stand trial before an inquisitorial court in Lisbon. Even after 1580, when Portugal came under Spanish rule, and the Inquisition became fierce in both countries, this practice was still continued; but as early as 1610 there were already rumors afloat that the king of Spain was secretly planning to establish the inquisition in Brazil, and physicians in Bahia, most of them new-Christians, growing alarmed and wishing to avert suspicion from themselves, prescribed pork for their Jewish patients.

If the Inquisition succeeded in crushing out the lives of men, it did not succeed in breaking them of their indomitable courage. There is the story of the Brazilian Jew, Isaac de Castro Tartas, who was born in the village of Tartas, in the French province of Gascony. At one time, when Brazil was yet under Dutch supremacy, young Castro went to Bahia and for several years lived in Parahibo, which is a city in this region. One day, deaf to the remonstrations of his friends, he visited the capital da Bahia dos Santos, where he was immediately detected and seized by the Portuguese spies of the Holy Office, and transported to Lisbon. At the first hearing he exclaimed fearlessly that he was a Jew, and that he wished to die as a Jew. As in the case of de Silva, shrewd priests were sent to him, but his heart and his convictions were too strong and too firm for the theological arguments of the churchmen. The priests gave up with a shrug, and Isaac de Castro Tartas was condemned to die by fire.

Little time was wasted. The auto da fé was erected. For six hours he stood bound at the stake, while the flames curled about his young body. Suddenly, from the blackened lips of

the dying boy broke forth a cry of such sublime faith that the whole assemblage was filled with great awe and pity. For many years afterwards the people of Lisbon related how the young martyr had exclaimed before dying the glorious words of the Sh'ma:

"Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the Lord is One."⁶

THE JEW IN THE DUTCH COLONIES

Although there were no Jews in Holland before 1593, mention is made of them much earlier in several of the other provinces of the Netherlands. After the expulsion of the Jews from France in 1321, and their bitter persecutions in Hainaut and the Rhine provinces, they settled in Nimenguen, Doesburg, Zutphen, and Arnhem. In 1349 the Emperor Louis IV of Germany authorized the Duke of Gelderland to receive Jews into his dutchy. They paid taxes, performed certain services, and, in return, were given the protection of the law, sometimes against the hostilities of the populace. In 1382 the Jews of Nimeguen had a cemetery, and in 1426 a synagogue. Certain provinces closed their doors to the Jews. They were expelled from Utrecht in 1444, and were not readmitted until 1789. Their troubles began afresh when, by the marriage of Mary of Burgundy and Archduke Maximilian, the son of Emperor Frederick IV, the Netherlands were united to Austria and their provinces passed to the crown of Spain. In 1542, and again in 1545 and 1549, Charles V issued proclamations against Jews who had not been baptized in Utrecht and Gelder-

⁶ The fame of De Castro spread even to Amsterdam where the twenty-four year old boy was deeply mourned; and Solomon ben David Israel de Oliveyra dedicated a beautiful Hebrew poem to the brave youth, who—

"Ascended in a flame of fire like Elijah.
Firm and unyielding he stood for his God;
For his thoughts were great and lofty.
All the brightest stars were wrapped in mourning
As he ascended to the height of the Seraphim
That stood on the firmament."

land. In the years of 1571 and 1572 a number of Jewish families were expelled from Wageningen, and many more were seized in Arnhem. In 1581, when the deputies of the United Provinces deposed Philip from his throne, and religious peace was guaranteed by the 13th article of the memorable "Unie van Utrecht," hundreds of persecuted Jews from Spain and Portugal rushed to Holland as a place of refuge.

In 1593, there came into Amsterdam a number of Marranos—many of them merchants and men of great ability—who began at once a series of commercial undertakings that contributed materially to the consequent rise of Dutch colonial trade and expansion. The political and economic rights of the Jews were still to a considerable degree curtailed, despite the friendship of the liberal stadholder, and the House of Orange. They were denied the full privileges of citizenship, they could not intermarry with the Christians, they were prohibited from following any mechanical or retail trade. But they were given a free and wide hand in commercial pursuits, and were allowed to worship in peace.

About this time, say 1620, the Dutch were beginning to cast eyes upon Brazil. Sly glances soon became bold ones; and Holland became fidgety with desire. As a step towards the realization of her ambitions there was formed in 1621 the Dutch West India Company; and in 1624 a Dutch fleet, among whose volunteers were many Jews, captured the city of Bahia, on the eastern coast of Brazil.⁷ Williken, the Dutch commander, realizing the excellent qualities of the Jews as subjects, issued a proclamation offering religious freedom and full possession of property to those who would submit to Dutch rule. Two hundred Jews took advantage of the liberal offer; but in 1625 Bahia was recaptured by the Portuguese, and five new-Christians were put to death.

With the capture of Recife under Admiral Loncq in 1631,

⁷ It is claimed that Francisco Ribiero, a Portuguese captain in the employ of the Dutch, through whom the Dutch schemes of the conquest of Brazil were partly effected, was himself of Jewish extraction.

the Dutch secured the upper hand in Brazil. There was an immediate influx of Jews and Marranos from Bahia and other parts of Brazil into Recife, and the first real Jewish community in the New World was established. By 1639 the Jews controlled practically all the trade, and in a work published in Amsterdam the following year, they are claimed to have been twice as numerous in Recife as Christians. Jews poured in from Europe and from the Spanish and Portuguese colonies, and Recife became one of the foremost cities in Brazil. They numbered in the thousands, and they called themselves "Kahal Kadosh"—The Holy Congregation. Nieuhoff, a traveller, writing of them in 1640 makes the following comment:

"Among the free inhabitants of Brazil the Jews are most considerable in number; they have a vast traffic beyond all the rest; they purchased sugar mills and bought stately houses in Recife."

In 1642, about 600 Spanish and Portuguese Jews accompanied by two men of learning, Isaac Aboab da Fonseca and Moses Raphael de Aguilar, embarked from Amsterdam for Brazil. Isaac Aboab, son of David Aboab and Isabel da Fonseca, was born in Gasterodagne, Portugal, from which city, at a very early age, he moved with his parents to San Jean de Luz, a little French town on the Spanish frontier, where a colony of Spanish and Portuguese Marranos had taken up residence and professed Judaism openly. When, however, in 1612 the Spanish government took measures to bring the refugee heretics back into Spain, David Aboab left San Jean de Luz with his family, and proceeded, together with many other Jews, to Amsterdam.

After his father's death, Isaac Aboab, still a young boy, adopted the surname da Fonseca from his mother, and began his learning in Amsterdam under the able tutelage of Rabbi Isaac Usiel. He was a brilliant student. At the age of seventeen he already held a public office, and four years later, in 1623, he became rabbi of a large congregation in Amsterdam. Here his services were varied. He delivered sermons, taught

the Talmud to beginning scholars, and on long winter evenings gave interesting lectures on the life and works of the prophet Isaiah. He was not well paid, and when, in 1642, he was offered the rabbinate in Recife, he gladly accepted the chance to better his condition.

At this time, in 1642, Jews were permitted to worship publicly in the Dutch colonies, despite the objections of certain horrified Christians; and upon his arrival in Recife, Aboab took up at once the duties of Rabbi, while Aguilar, an able grammarian and an accomplished scholar, became the reader of the congregation. But Recife was not destined to have its full growth. Its career was brought to an abrupt end with the first sounds of war. Portugal had not yet given up Brazil. In 1645 the Portuguese besieged Recife, near Pernambuco, and a warfare broke out which was to last for nine years, and to end with the defeat of the Hollandish armies, and the expulsion of the Jews from Brazil.

These were years of great suffering for the Jews, many of them dying from lack of food. During the war Abraham Coen, a rich Jew of Amsterdam, and a friend of the Duke of Nassau, supported both the Jews and Christians with ammunition and provisions; while Aboab went about ordering days of fasting and prayer. His fiery speeches whipped the men into great feats of heroism, which won the praise and gratitude of the Dutch government.⁸

There arose in the year 1646 a certain Johann Ferdinand Vieira, a Portuguese of Madeira, the son of an Ethiopian mother, who secretly gathered about him an army of rebels, and placing himself at their head, fled into the woods, and lay hidden there until he was joined by the Portuguese troops. The com-

⁸ Aboab immortalized these events in a Hebrew poem which he called "Zeher Rab: Prayers and Confessions and Supplications, which were composed for appealing to God in his trouble and in the distress of the congregation, when the troops of Portugal overwhelmed them during their sojourn in Brazil in the year 5406. And I have caused the wonderful works of God to be remembered in songs and praises, when he released them from the hands of his enemies." (The ms. is in possession of the "Arbol de las Vidas" Theological Society.)

bined armies met the Dutch in open battle, and a fierce struggle ensued, the Jews fighting side by side with the Dutch in the thick of battle against overwhelming odds. The Portuguese, inflamed by fanatical priests with crosses in hand, bore down heavily upon the thin ranks of the Dutch, and at the last moment, when it seemed that defeat and surrender were inevitable, the Dutch fleet appeared and brought them deliverance. Then there was great rejoicing among the Jews, their voices were lifted high in praise of God, and they sang out:

"Who is like unto thee among the Gods, O Lord!"

But it was only a short respite. The Portuguese returned to the siege with an even greater ferocity and determination than before, and the suffering became unbearable. "Volumes," wrote Isaac Aboab, "would not suffice to relate our miseries. The enemy spread over field and wood, seeking here for booty and there for life. Many of us died, sword in hand, others from want; they now rest in cold earth. We survivors were exposed to death in every form; those accustomed to luxuries were glad to seize mouldy bread to stay their hunger."

On January 23, 1654, Recife, together with the neighboring cities of Mauritestad, Parayba, Itamarica, Seara, and other Hollandish possessions were surrendered to the Portuguese, and the supremacy of the United Province in America came to an end. Although a general amnesty had been agreed upon, in which the Jews were promised every consideration, the Portuguese governor, putting at their disposal sixteen vessels, and supplying them with passports and safeguards, ordered them to leave Brazil. Aboab and Aguilar returned to Amsterdam; some went to the other Dutch and English colonies in America and the West Indies; while a handful of brave spirits pushed their way into North America. After his return to Amsterdam, Aboab was reinstated in the office he had left. For seventy years he was father to his people. In the last years of his life he became blind, and on April 4, 1693, at the age of 88, he died—philosopher, poet, and Jew. . .

The Portuguese did not forget the part the Jews had played

in the recent wars, and they applied themselves now with a frenzy to the extermination of the Jews from Brazil. On May 8, 1705, during which period the Inquisition was mighty in Brazil, there was born in Rio de Janeiro a boy who was destined to become the greatest of the Portuguese poets. Antonio José, youngest of three sons born to Jaõa da Silva, the celebrated jurist, and his wife, Laurenca Coutinho, belonged to a Marrano family who had been transported to Brazil at the time of the reconquest from the Dutch. Though baptized in his cradle, the young Antonio was secretly taught by his mother to believe in the Mosaic faith. Before long the Holy Office got wind of it; Laurenca Coutinho was seized and dragged from her home, and in 1713 she was sent to Lisbon, where she was imprisoned for many years. Her husband selling everything he owned, followed her with the eight year old Antonio.

At Lisbon, the boy was sent to school where he proved to be an excellent scholar, and at the age of twenty-one he received the Bachelor of Divinity degree. On August 8, 1726, he was arrested and brought before the tribunal charged with having written poetry satirizing the Church. The Inquisitors became busy, investigations were begun, and Antonio was accused of Judaizing. It was noted that when put upon the rack he called only upon one God, and did not utter the name of Jesus. At an *auto da fé* at Lisbon on October 13, 1726, he admitted his guilt and promised to become a good Catholic. For many years he avoided all intercourse with Jews and outwardly lived the life of a Christian. In 1734 he married Leonora de Carvalho, a secret Jewess, and there was born to them, in the following year, a daughter, Laurenca. Antonio became prosperous, his poems and plays were well received, and the future looked bright to him.

One day, while Antonio was at home with his family, celebrating the second birthday of his daughter, there came a loud knocking at the door, and a bailiff of the Inquisition broke into the room, arrested the frightened couple, and led them off

to prison. The house was sacked and Leonora Gomes, a negress slave in his mother's service, informed the authorities that her master, Antonio, was a Jew, and lived according to the Mosaic law.

Antonio was thrown into a cell where his movements were carefully watched by spies of the Inquisition. Meanwhile, his wife had been torn away from him, and while in a distant cell, she gave birth to a boy. Upon learning this, Antonio became so distracted he could not eat or sleep, and the Inquisitors complained that his refusal to touch food was only an indication of his contempt for the Christian religion. On March 11, 1739, the Holy Office called a secret meeting, and it was unanimously resolved that he was guilty.

Seven months later, on the 19th of October, 1739, Antonio, pale, dark-haired, and short of stature, clad in a yellow sanbenito, holding a green wax-candle in his hand and escorted by a confessor and the Irmanda da Misericordia (Brotherhood of Mercy), walked calmly and with heroic bearing to the funeral-pyre. Before he died he turned to his judges, and addressed them in these words:

"I am a follower of a faith God-given according to your own teachings. God once loved this religion. I believe He still loves it; but because you maintain that He no longer turns upon it the light of His countenance, you condemn to death those convinced that God has not withdrawn His grace from what He once favored. You demand that we become Christians, yet you are far from being Christians yourselves. Be at least men, and act towards us as reasonably as if you had no religion at all to guide you and no revelation for your enlightenment."

When Antonio José died, a great artist died—perhaps the greatest that Portugal has ever had. He was a prolific writer of poetry, drama, and opera. In 1744, five years after the Inquisition had forbidden a collected edition of his operas, his works appeared anonymously under the title "*Teatro Comico Portuguese*," edited in two volumes by Francisco Luiz Ameno.

Antonio José had also the distinction of being the last Jewish martyr to die at the stake in Portugal. After the accession of Don José to the throne, the rack and the funeral-pyre were abolished, and Jews were punished only by deportation and confiscation of property.

JEWISH EXPANSION IN AMERICA

The reconquest of Brazil by Portugal marks the beginning of Jewish expansion in America. Far from being crushed by the blow, the Jew seemed strengthened by the defeat in Recife. The wars had hardened and tempered him, and he dug his heels into the American soil with a grim determination to stay there.

When Recife fell, and the Jews were ordered to leave Brazil, some went to Surinam, to Cayenne, to Curaçao, to Nova Zealandia, to the West Indies—even to North America. As early as 1639, while Recife was then in its heyday, a handful of Jews had straggled into Surinam, had settled there, and four years later had stood around the first marriage canopy raised in Dutch Guiana. In 1652 Lord Willoughby, an English gentleman of character and breeding, coming to Surinam for the second time, brought with him several Jewish families, and the community in Paramaribo wrote to Isaac Neto, in Amsterdam, to come and be their rabbi.

About this time, in 1656, there was already a small settlement of Jews in Cayenne (French Guiana) as a result of a liberal charter made out to Spranger by the Dutch West India Company. Three years later, on September 12, 1659, David Nassi, being attracted by the reputation of Cayenne, obtained the title of Patroon-master, and taking with him a number of Jews, settled down in the new colony. When the Jews learned that the land which they cultivated would in four years be theirs, and that they would be allowed to administer justice according to their own usages and customs, they wrote to their

co-religionists in Europe, and in the following year 152 Jews embarked at Livorno, Italy, on the ninth day of Ab, and came to Cayenne in the good ship Monte del Cisne.

It was not long, however, before the colony found itself harassed and its existence threatened by the continuous warfare between the Dutch and the Portuguese, and the frequent invasions of the French who were becoming irritable with colonial growing pains. When, in 1664, the French finally took Cayenne, many of the Jews, under the leadership of Nassi, went to Surinam, while some went to the Pomeroun, and some to Tobago and Essequibo. In Surinam, the Jews once more raised their heads and stretched their limbs, for the English, who were at that time ruling the colony, granted them religious freedom and certain civil rights. They were given ten acres of land at Thoxorica for a synagogue, were excused from public and military service on the Sabbath, and by an act of 1665, all Jews who came to Surinam were considered British born subjects. They repaid the tolerance of the English with such an allegiance and patriotism, that when on July 13, 1667, Surinam, by the treaty of Breda, became a Dutch province, many of them left their homes and went with the English to Jamaica.

When the Dutch finally realized that they could not hope to recover Brazil, they threw open again the whole of Guiana to colonization, and drew up an attractive prospectus inviting colonists to come to the "Vaste Wilde Custe." In 1657 the highly-colored prospectus was followed by a new body of liberties and exemptions for patroons and colonists, and in the following year the Dutch established a new colony at Nova Zeelandia. Colonists came there readily enough, and during the years 1658-59 four or five ships laden with Jews sailed down the Essequibo.

The Dutch, still smarting under the blow they had received in Brazil, determined to redeem themselves in West Guiana. Striking inducements were offered to prospective settlers. Lurid pamphlets, exaggerating the marvelous fortunes to be made

by growing sugar in Nova Zeelandia, and extolling the many advantages of Guiana over the New Netherlands, were published and translated into German. One of these pamphlets, coming by chance into the hands of Charles Longland, the English agent at Leghorn, Italy, provoked that gentleman into writing a letter to John Thurloe, the secretary of state under Cromwell, commenting on the colonial policy of the Dutch, and clearly intimating that it was a wise one:

"It seems the States of Holland are making a plantation betwixt Surinam and Cartagena in the West Indys, wherein they go very wysly and pollitickly to work aiming chiefly there at a trade with the Spanyol; for which purpose they have sent hether to invyt many families of Jews and granted them many privileges and immunitys which they have printed and sent hether. I intend your Honour a copy thereof enclosed if I can get it translated in tym. Spanish is become now the Jews mother tongue not only in thes parts but throughout al the Turks dominions; in which respect they wil be very useful to the Duch in theyr plantation; and many opportunityes may present for them to converse with the Spanyol by reason of civility. If our planters at Surinam took the same course it would be much to their advantage. About 25 famillyes of Jews go hence for the Holland plantation; som of them told me they nothing dout but to introduce a trade very speedily with the Spanyol there who are in most extream want of all European commoditys."⁹

The colonists realized soon enough that they had been deceived. In the spring of 1660, Latorre, a Jew, having just returned from the colony, appeared before the Committee and asked that forty of his coreligionists be permitted to leave. In the same year, de Fuentes, a planter in the Pomeroon, and a leading Jew there, described in a letter the true conditions of the country:

⁹ State Papers of John Thurloe, London, 1742, Vol. 6, p. 825.

"I consider this land better than Brazil, but in order to become acquainted with its virtue one has need of a quantity of negroes and particularly a governor with twenty-five soldiers in order to keep the land quiet, etc.

"The country yields abundance of all kinds of fish, so that I having brought here about 2000 pounds of provisions have been compelled to send the same to the islands, regarding that as fairly lost.

"The crops are getting on very well, but the smith here is a drunkard, so that it is very necessary that a good smith and carpenter be sent hither in order to repair the aforesaid mills and make others, for without them no sugar can be made. . . . It is believed that there are hereabouts some gold and silver mines, but I have not yet had the opportunities of ascertaining the truth of this."¹⁰

Whether good or bad, the prospects of the colonists were brought to an abrupt end by the invasion, in the winter of 1665-6, of the English from Barbados, under the able command of Major John Scott. The major went about his work in a deliberate and effective manner. After scaring the Dutch out of Tobago in October, 1655, he appropriated all the Dutch establishments in Guiana west of Bernice, destroyed the plantations in Pomeroon, took an appraising inventory of his work, and returned to Barbados in April of 1666. The Jews, following his example, put pack to shoulder, and set out for Surinam.

Surinam grew by leaps and bounds. The Jews, engaged chiefly in agriculture, became prominent as planters, chief among them being Captain Nassi, the richest and most influential Jew in the colony. He was a brave and clever man, and felt himself the chosen leader of his people. In 1682 he gave to the Jews an island on the River Surinam, which was called the Savannah, and which became the principal seat of

¹⁰ Original letter in Stadsarchief in Veere.

the Jewish community in Surinam. Three years later the congregation worshiped within the walls of a synagogue—the first on the Savannah.

Samuel Nassi was a fearless soldier. When, on a Sabbath day in the year 1689, a French fleet under Admiral Cassard made a sudden attack on the colony, and all the soldiers and sailors were ordered to appear at the fort, the Jews, led by their intrepid captain, joined the Dutch and fought valiantly for their colony. Some years later, in June of 1712, after a respite of peace during which the colony began to thrive and prosper, a powerful French squadron, again under the command of Admiral Cassard, advanced upon the settlement. The attack was again repulsed, but in October of the same year, Cassard's fleet reappeared on the coast, and endeavored to sail up the Cammawaine River. This time, despite the stubborn resistance offered by the Jews under the brave leadership of Captain Isaac Pinto, the French effected a safe landing, bombarded the city of Paramaribo, and captured the Savannah, where they celebrated their victory by sacrificing a pig on the Amud of the synagogue. These sanguinary skirmishes were finally put to an end by the treaty of Utrecht, signed, soon after, by the governments of Holland and France.

Samuel Nassi was a powerful influence in the lives of the Jews of Surinam. He became, in a sense, the pioneer of the Jewish reform movement in America when he undertook to effect certain changes in ritual and ceremony, to simplify certain festivals, to adjust orthodoxy to the changing conditions and the demands of the new environment. He met with considerable opposition, of course, although he had the sanction and support of the Rabbis of Amsterdam. Nassi did not stay in Surinam long after this. His keen disappointment in failing to succeed Heer Van Sommelsdyke as governor dulled his enthusiasm and embittered him against the country which failed to show its gratitude towards its foremost citizen and ablest statesman. He had the satisfaction, nevertheless after his return to Amsterdam, of being chiefly instrumental in the

recall of the newly appointed governor, a man extremely unfriendly and unfair to the Jews—Heer Van Scherpenhuitzen.

Surinam had hardly recovered from the depredations of the French, when a new danger made itself manifest, and threw the colony into a fresh panic. In the year 1690, negro slaves on the plantation of Machado, a wealthy Jewish landowner, rebelled against their master and murdered him. This was followed by similar uprisings, and an anonymous writer of the time points out that: "The great check to the prosperity of Surinam has arisen from the inhabitants being exposed to the invasion and lawlessness of the Maroons, or runaway negroes, who have formed several communities in the inaccessible parts of the woods, and were the most implacable and cruel enemies of the colonists. The Jewish militia have often signalized themselves, and have been of great use to the colony; one-third of whom were of this nation."¹¹

When the Jews found that the governor refused to give them the slightest assistance, they took the matter into their own hands. The negroes, emboldened by their many successes, and undaunted by the heroic stand on the part of the Jews, had assumed an even greater aggressiveness and audacity, until the Jews, unable to stand it any longer, struck out in blind anger against the lawless hordes. Under the leadership of Captain David Nassi, a spirited Jew, the Jewish militia marched out into the very retreats of the Maroons, and launched such a ferocious attack against them, that they were forced to surrender. For nearly a hundred years, at intervals, marauding bands of negroes troubled the peace of the colony. In 1743, David Nassi, who was now an old man, but in whom the flame of life burned steady and clear, marched out for the last time, on the Day of Atonement, to fight for his people against a dangerous band of Creoles. Crossing over the Surinam River with his small band of men, he cut deep into the interior, and fell upon the enemy, killing many of them and taking forty as captives. Without waiting

¹¹ Hannah Adams: "History of the Jews" (Boston, 1818), p. 457.

for orders from the Council, he turned homeward, for he had learned that the enemy had poisoned the wells in the village, and his men were burning with thirst. He was accused for this act, and his defense was ignored. The old captain, now more than seventy years old, was broken-hearted at this show of ingratitude, and the bitter grief undermined his health. He was seized with fever, and his old frame, racked with years and struggle, crumpled together. With his death ended the wars with the Maroons. Treaties of peace were signed in 1761 and 1762, and in the following year, forts, strengthened by palisades, were constructed from plantation to plantation, and a series of military posts were established from the Savannah of the Jews to the banks of the Cammawaine River and from there to the sea.

During the early part of the 18th century a small number of German Jews (Hoogduytsche) emigrated to Surinam. For one reason or another they did not get along well with the Portuguese Jews and in 1734 they asked permission to form a separate community. As a result, they settled in Paramaribo, and founded the Congregation Neweh Shalom. The Portuguese, not to be outdone, reciprocated by building a new synagogue, "Zedek-we-Shalom," which was dedicated in 1737. The Germans, however, grew in numbers, and Paramaribo became a bustling community. In 1780 the synagogue in Paramaribo was enlarged, and two cemeteries were procured. A Jewish theater was built, the first, perhaps, in modern Jewish history. It was later enlarged, and in 1792 another was added. Paramaribo now had about 600 Jews, 100 of whom were mulattoes. By 1836 the German congregation outnumbered the Portuguese. The Savannah grew weaker and weaker, and finally fell into ruin.

In 1797, while Surinam was still an English colony, and Portugal and France were hard at war with each other, an interesting thing happened. The French had captured and brought to Surinam a Portuguese ship, sold it, and left the

sailors stranded in Guiana without a penny among them. The Jews took compassion on them, fed and clothed them, chartered a vessel to carry them back home, and refused to accept any payment for it all. When the sailors arrived in Portugal, and informed the government of what had happened, the Prince ordered a letter sent to "Doctor David Nassi and the heads of the Portuguese Jewish Nations, residing in Surinam." The letter, in the light of an edict made by a Portuguese Prince two hundred years earlier, is of peculiar significance:

"The Portuguese, who were made prisoners of war by the French and then brought to Surinam, have, since they arrived at Lisbon, brought to the notice of the Prince . . . an account of the kindness which you gentlemen have shown them in helping them when they were in such great distress, and in sending them at your expense to Lisbon. I am commanded by his Royal Highness to thank you in his name for this noble deed. His Royal Highness has noted with much pleasure that the Portuguese Jewish nation still remember their former fatherland. It would be pleasing to the Prince if all of them or some should come back to settle again in Portugal, where they would enjoy the greatest security and repose, since under the rule of the august and enlightened Prince who rules over us, none of the causes now exist, which formerly necessitated their banishment. . . ." ¹²

THE JEW IN THE WEST INDIES

In the year 1650, twelve Jewish families presented themselves before Matthias Beck, the governor of Curaçao, with letters from the Council of Holland, ordering him to permit the Jews to settle in Curaçao, to give them land, negro slaves, horses, cattle, and farming implements, so that they might

¹² Bijdragen betreffende de Verbetering van den Maatschappelyken Staat der Joden, pp. 229, 235, Aug., 1806—June, 1807, Haag, Belifante.

engage in agriculture, and build up a colony in the West Indies. Matthias Beck read the letters carefully; noted with some surprise that Prince Maurice of Orange was himself concerned in the matter; and, on the whole, felt pleased with the arrangement, for the Dutch settlers had shamefully neglected their farming, and had taken instead to contraband trade on the Spanish main. He gave them a large tract of land on the outskirts of the city, known to this day as the Jewish Quarter—but before long, repenting his former liberality, he set about methodically to curtail their liberties.

The Jews, disappointed with the treatment they received, went about their work with heavy hearts. Meanwhile, the directors of the West India Company were growing impatient. Curaçao was proving no source of revenue for them, and they wrote to Governor Stuyvesant of New Amsterdam that they were seriously considering abandoning the colony altogether. They thought better of it, though, and came to some agreement with a certain Jan de Illan, a Jew, who was to bring a considerable number of people to Curaçao to settle there and cultivate the land. In the following year, on April 4, 1652, they wrote again to Stuyvesant, referring to certain privileges which they had granted to Joseph Nunes de Fonseca, alias David Nassi, who was also preparing to go there with a large number of people. The directors were pessimistic and distrustful about the whole business. "Time must show," they wrote, "whether we shall succeed with this nation; they are a crafty and generally treacherous people, in whom, therefore, not too much confidence must be placed."¹³ The letter, however, was written in a moment of sheer disgust, and by no means indicates the true attitude of the West India Company towards the Jews. The charter granted to Joseph Nunes as patron of the colony was one of striking liberality and toleration. The Jews worshiped as they wished, could select their own land, and were exempt from taxes for ten years.

¹³ Vol. 14 of Documents relating to Colonial History of the State of New York, p. 172.

X Now things began to hum. Axes swung, the log-wood fell, and a brisk trading began. Stuyvesant set up a great howl about it, and complained to the directors of the West India Company that the Jews of Curaçao were interfering with the trade of the New Netherlands. As a result, they were forbidden to purchase negro slaves, and certain trade restrictions were imposed upon them. In 1659 Stuyvesant wrote to the directors that the Jews of Curaçao were still purchasing negro slaves, and demanded that the Dutch settlers in the New Netherlands be given at least the same rights as were the "usurious and covetous Jews."

Despite the bitterness and frequent complaints of Stuyvesant, the colony prospered. From Brazil came refugee Jews, who broke at once into a brisk commercial activity. Soon they built fine homes for themselves, the Congregation Mikweh Israel was founded, and a small wooden building was rented for a synagogue, where services were held each day. In 1692 a new synagogue, was built, and Hazan David Raphael Lopez da Fonseca read the services that Passover eve.

Meanwhile other Jewish settlements were growing up in the islands of the British West Indies. In the year 1656 Jews had been granted the enjoyment of the "privileges of Laws and Statutes of ye Commonwealth of England and of this Island, relating to foreigners and strangers," and there was already a considerable number of Jews in Barbados, despite the opposition of English merchants who complained that the Jews would soon control all the trade in the island, and divert it to other countries. In 1664 the Jewish population was swelled by an influx of emigrants from Cayenne. Three years later the Jews were accused of carrying on an illicit trade with the Dutch, and of dealing in false coins. In 1668 they were spoken of as extensive owners of sugar works, and in the same year they were forbidden to sell at retail. In 1671, Lord Willoughby, the governor of Barbados, was instructed to molest no man in the peaceable exercise of his religion, and in 1674, after a period of political agitation, they were granted the privilege

of taking the oath on the five Books of Moses, in cases relating only to "trade and dealings." But complaints soon arose that the Jews were controlling too much of the trade, and in November, 1679, the assembly passed an act restraining Jews from keeping or trading with negroes.

The Jews in Barbados grew slowly in number. From time to time they were falsely accused of underhand dealings, and they developed, through necessity, the peculiar, though politic, custom of presenting every new governor with what was known as a "Jew Pie"—a crust covering a pile of gold coins. At an early date they were confined to one street,—Swan Street or Jew Street—and some time before 1679 the first synagogue, the "Kahal Kadosh Nidhe Israel," was built. In 1831 a terrific hurricane swept over the island, and left it in ruins. From this time on the Jews went out of Barbados, until now they are a feeble folk, numbering scarce half a dozen, headed by the Baezas. The synagogue is open every Saturday morning for anyone who cares to go there to pray, but no one goes. The lamp is always kept burning before the ark, but the synagogue lacks a congregation.¹⁴

When, in 1665, the English conquered the island of Jamaica, the largest of her West India possessions, there were already a considerable number of Jews there. Although the Inquisition had never been introduced into the island, it was dangerous for a Jew to make himself noticeable. With the advent of the English, however, things turned for the better. Commerce began to thrive, and Jews came to Jamaica from Brazil, England, and Germany. But the governor was a hard man to deal with, and the Jews complained of his severity. In 1783 they were forbidden to maintain Christian servants, and four years later they were prohibited from holding any public office,

¹⁴ The synagogue stands at the corner of Synagogue and Magazine lanes. Behind the wall, in the graveyard, lie about a thousand tombstones, very close to one another. A favorite engraving on them is an axman cutting down the unfruitful tree. A few of the inscriptions are in English, but most in Hebrew. The oldest tomb is probably that of David Mercado, who died August 14, 1685.

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From this time on the history of the Jew in South and Central America and the West Indies is, for the most part, uneventful. Cruelly persecuted and hunted at first, he gradually rose to a position of prominence and distinction, demanding respect from his very enemies. Essentially, the history of the Jew in America is the history of the Jew in North America; for it was here he became fully articulate, and here that he grew to manhood.

CHAPTER THREE

TO THE NORTH

THE JEWS IN NEW AMSTERDAM: UNDER DUTCH RULE

ON a warm, bright day in the first week of September—thirty-four years after the “Mayflower” with its load of Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock—a French man-of-war, the “St. Charles,” sailed into the harbor of New York, known then as New Amsterdam,¹ with twenty-three Jewish refugees from Brazil.) These Jews had suffered great perils, and the sight of land was sweet to them. They had been forced to leave their home in Recife, Brazil, when that colony was recaptured by the Portuguese from the Dutch, who had held it stubbornly for more than a decade. One day, early in May, tying together their few belongings, they secretly made their way out of Brazil on board a boat bound for one of the other Dutch colonies in South America.² Several days out of port, with a stiff wind behind them, their ship was captured by a band of Spanish pirates. But destiny intervened. The ship was stranded off one of the West India Islands; a French armed ship—the “St. Charles”—made a timely appearance; and a half-hearted encounter took place. The pirates turned tail, and the Jews were taken on board the man-of-war. After many weeks of sailing, this vessel brought them to New Amsterdam.³

¹ New Amsterdam had been founded about twenty-eight years previously by the Dutch West India Company, which included many Jews among the stockholders and directors. The city had in 1654 a population of about eight hundred souls. It had gained a reputation as a fur trade center, and its excellent harbor was well known.

² Most of the Jews had fled to Amsterdam, then the freest and most tolerant city in Europe.

³ Many historians claim that the name of the ship on which the twenty-three Jews made their passage to New Amsterdam was the

The refugees came to their new home penniless, and with little more than the clothes to their backs. They had made an emergency agreement with Jacques de la Motthe, captain of the bark, that they would all be responsible for each other's fare. When he demanded payment, and the Jews replied that their pockets had been turned inside out by the Spanish desperadoes, the Frenchman grew angry. The upshot of it was the New Amsterdam authorities ordered the remaining effects of the Jews sold at public auction. The amount realized from the sale left de la Motthe with a sour face. He set up a howl, applied to the Court of the Burgomaster and the Schœpens, but nothing came of it.⁴ The whole business disgusted the irate captain so much he let the matter drop there and then, spat behind him, and set sail for more lucrative fields. Many of the Jews sent to Holland for money and paid later.

The extreme poverty of the newcomers, their disputes with the captain, and the forced sale of their effects made a bad impression upon the authorities and inhabitants of New Amsterdam, which at that time was a bustling, squirming little colony of some eight hundred broad-shouldered citizens. They were having trouble above their heads with the Indians, the Swedes, and the English; and the arrival of the twenty-three unwelcome strangers was looked upon as an added nuisance,

"St. Catarina," and that it brought them direct from Brazil. No mention is made of the pirates, and the extreme poverty of the refugees is explained by the fact that they were forced to flee Brazil before they had time to gather their valuables and possessions. The present authors give more credence to the "St. Charles" theory, of which Mr. Samuel Oppenheim, in his "History of the Jews in New York, 1654-1664," is the chief proponent.

⁴In accordance with his contract made with the Jews, the captain had taken two of the passengers—David Israel and Moses Ambrosius—as principal debtors, and asked the court that they be held as security until payment of the balance due him. The court accordingly ordered the two Jews placed under civil arrest in the custody of the provost-marshal, until satisfaction should have been made. The captain was made answerable for their support while in custody, as security for which a certain portion of the proceeds of the auction was directed to be left in the hands of the secretary of the colony. As no further proceedings appear on the records the matter was doubtlessly arranged to the satisfaction, at least, of the Jews.

and very likely to create domestic disturbances. This spontaneous hostility came to a head in the person of the Governor Peter Stuyvesant, a mean, pompous, and irascible politician, vain and bloated with an insatiable love for power. He felt strongly the prejudices of his time against the Jews, and tried desperately to create a one-hundred percent Dutch community whose faith should be the Dutch Reformed Church. Without wasting time or words, he ordered them to move on. But Peter did not reckon with the hard, defiant stubbornness of this curious race. Spain was behind them; Portugal was behind them; Recife, Pernambuco, Torquemada, the funeral-pyre, the rack, the death cries of tortured Jews—these were behind them; and they refused to budge. Stuyvesant fumed. Boiling mad, he wrote a scorching letter ⁵ to his masters, the Directors of the Dutch West India Company. It ran in this fashion:

“The Jews who have arrived nearly all like to remain here, but learning that they (with their customary usury and deceitful trading with the Christians) were very repugnant to the inferior magistrates . . . the Deaconry also fearing that owing to their present indigence they might become a charge in the coming winter, we have, for the benefit of this weak and newly developing place and the land in general, deemed it useful to require them in a friendly way to depart; praying also . . . that this deceitful race . . . be not allowed further to infest and trouble this new colony to the detraction of your worship’s most affectionate subjects.”

Meanwhile Stuyvesant had to leave the colony and go to the West Indies on a matter affecting British interference with Dutch commerce in this region. He was gone for several months, and during his absence the matters of the Jews’ expulsion was taken up by the inferior magistrates, consisting of the Sheriff, Burgomasters, and Aldermen. On March 1, they came to the conclusion that the newcomers must depart.

⁵ This letter was sent September 22, about two weeks after the arrival of the Jews.

They held up proceedings, however, awaiting the arrival of the governor and instructions from the company. Meanwhile another ship brought an additional contingent of Jews from Holland. Among the new arrivals was one Abraham de Lucena, destined to become a leader among his co-religionists. On the day of his arrival he was arrested on the charge of violating the Sunday Law and of selling at retail.⁶

The Jews who had come from Brazil made up their minds to fight it out with Stuyvesant. They wrote to their relatives and friends in Amsterdam, begging them to intercede with the directors of the Dutch West India Company on their behalf. A petition was soon presented to the directors by the Portuguese-Jewish merchants of Amsterdam, which read in part as follows:

"There are many of the nation who have lost their possessions at Pernambuco and part of them have been dispersed here and there. . . . And as they cannot go to Spain or Portugal because of the Inquisition, a great part of the aforesaid people must in time be obliged to depart for other territories of their high Mightinesses and States General and their Companies. . . .

"It is well known to your Honors that the Jewish nation in Brazil have at all times been faithful and have striven to guard and maintain that place, risking for that purpose their possessions and their blood.

"Yonder land is extensive and spacious. The more of loyal people that go to live there, the better it is in regard to the population of the country as in regard to the payment of various excises and taxes which may be imposed there, and in regard to the increase in trade and the importation of all the necessities that may be sent there" . . .

The petition had its effect. On April 26, 1655, the directors sent the following instructions to Stuyvesant—instructions that

⁶ The complainant demanded that de Lucena be deprived of his trade and fined 600 guilders.

were of incalculable importance to the future of the Jews in New Amsterdam and which served as the earliest charter of Jewish rights:

"We would have liked to . . . fulfill your wishes," wrote the directors, . . . "that the new territories should no more be allowed to be infested by the peoples of the Jewish nation, for we foresee therefrom the same difficulties which you fear, but after having further weighed and considered the matter, we observe that this would be somewhat unreasonable and unfair, especially because of the considerable loss sustained by this nation with others in the taking of Brazil, as also because of the large amount of capital which they still have invested in the shares of the company. Therefore, after many deliberations we have finally decided and resolved . . . that these people may travel and trade to and in New Netherland and live and remain there, provided the poor among them shall not become a burden to the company or to the community but be supported by their own nation. You will now govern yourself accordingly."

Meanwhile, during Stuyvesant's absence, the Schout or Sheriff, Cornelius Van Tienhoven, an unscrupulous, tyrannical official, did his best to frighten away the Jews, and some of them, indeed, are said to have departed. Upon his return in July, 1655, Stuyvesant found orders to attack the Swedes on the Delaware. He ordered at once the enlistment of all adult males in the colony, and came face to face with a poser: Shall the Jews be enlisted? Several of the Jewish colonists were ready to serve. The question was laid before Stuyvesant and the council which was subservient to him. In August the Council ruled that "owing to the disgust and unwillingness of the train bands to be fellow soldiers with the said nation and to be on guard with the same at the guard house . . . Jews cannot be permitted to serve as soldiers, but should be exempt. For such exemption each male person should pay a monthly contribution of sixty-five stivers."

Jacob Barsimson and Asser Levy Van Swellem, the latter a native of Amsterdam, refused to pay the tax, and petitioned to stand guard like the other burghers or be released from the tax. The Governor and Council refused the petition, and told them, characteristically enough, "they might go elsewhere if they liked."

On October 11, 1655, the Director and Council ordered voluntary subscriptions and contributions for the purpose of strengthening the outworks of the city against Indian attacks. Each man was to give according to his means, and the Burgo-masters were authorized to assess anyone who refused to pay. Abraham de Lucena, Joseph D'Acosta, Salvador D'Andrada, Jacob Cohen Henriques, and David De Ferera, were each assessed one hundred guilders, and Asser Levy and Jacob Barsimson six guilders each. In all, two hundred and ten persons were taxed for a grand sum of 6,305 guilders. The assessment of the seven Jews was thus fixed at one-twelfth of the whole, while their proportion to the people taxed was only one-thirtieth.

Commerce was brisk these days and the Jews were loath to stay out of it. On November 29, 1655, they petitioned the Council to consent to their trading on the South or Delaware River, Fort Orange (Albany) and other places. The Governor and Council said the idea was preposterous; but when they learned that the petitioners—Abraham de Lucena, Salvador D'Andrada, and Jacob Cohen—had already shipped some goods, they permitted them to send two persons⁷ to the South River to dispose of the merchandise. The next month Salvador D'Andrada petitioned to be allowed to buy a house; but Stuyvesant thought otherwise and denied the petition "for pregnant reasons." Undaunted, the Jews again petitioned the Governor and Council on March 14, 1656, this time to be allowed to trade like other burghers and to own real estate. Stuyvesant was sick and tired of the endless petitions by this time, and referred the entire matter to the directors of the

⁷ Isaac Israel and Benjamin Cardozo.

company. In a letter dated June 14, 1656, the directors made it plain to the Governor that he was acting against orders in denying the Jews the privilege of trading on the Delaware River or owning real estate. These were rights they had in old Amsterdam, and they would have them in New Amsterdam as well whether Stuyvesant liked it or not.⁸ Stuyvesant did not; but as he read further his eye came on a phrase that pleased him: "Jews . . . shall not be permitted to establish themselves as mechanics . . . nor allowed to have open retail shops. . . ." The letter ended on a note of compromise and concession: ". . . they may quietly and peacefully carry on their business as heretofore and exercise in all quietness their religion within their homes for which end they must without doubt endeavor to build their houses closer together in a convenient place on one or the other side of New Amsterdam as their choice, as they have done here." Thus was established the first ghetto in North America.

The Jews on the whole got the better of that encounter. If the local authorities were narrow-minded and bigoted, the directors of the company were liberal—more liberal in some respects than the Dutch Government. Their liberality was, in part, a gesture of reciprocation for the important rôle the Jews had played in assuring the prosperity of the Company in its formative days. The Jews had suggested the plan of attacking the Spanish silver fleet loaded with precious metals from the New World, and of capturing Brazil from the Portuguese. They were moved also by the consideration that the greatest need of a young and struggling community like New Amsterdam was a nucleus of peaceful, talented and industrious folk. In almost all the controversies with Stuyvesant they sided with the Jews.

⁸ "We have seen and learned with displeasure that your Honor, against our orders of the 15th day of February, 1655, . . . have forbidden them (Jews) to trade to Fort Orange and the South River and also the purchase of real estate which is allowed them here in this country, without any difficulty, and we wish that this had not occurred but that your Honors had obeyed our orders which you must hereafter execute punctually and with more respect.

The last great struggle of the Jews was for the Burgher right which was necessary for the conduct of many businesses and trades. On April 9, 1657, the Burgomasters and Aldermen gave notice that those who claimed the Burgher right should within eight days communicate their names to the Burgomasters of the city, and that those without these rights would be deprived of trading privileges. Two days later Asser Levy applied for the Burgher right. He stated that he kept watch and ward and showed a Burgher certificate from the city of Amsterdam. His application was refused with the suggestion that he apply to the Director General and Council.

The Jews were aroused. This was plainly foul play. A number of the leading Jews of the colony demanded the admittance of Levy to the Burgher right.⁹ They followed it up by asking the same rights for the other Jews of the colony. Stuyvesant and the Council had learned their lesson. They hemmed and hawed, but finally they gave in. This was on April 20, 1657.¹⁰

In July, 1655, the Jews had applied for a burying ground. Stuyvesant had refused it on the ground "that there was no need for it yet." On July 14, 1656, however, when one of the newcomers died, a lot was granted to them on the outskirts of the city. (It is said that this first Jewish burial ground was situated on the site of what is now Oliver Street, west of Madison and near Henry Street.)

The struggles of the early colonists¹¹ for their rights were now virtually ended. The Dutch officials even recognized the Jewish Sabbath, for in 1658 they ruled that Jacob Barsimson could not be summoned to court on his Sabbath day. In Oc-

⁹ The petition demanding these rights was signed by Salvador D'Andrada, Jacob Cohen Henriques, Abraham de Lucena and Joseph d'Acosta.

¹⁰ "The Burgomasters of this city are hereby authorized and at the same time charged to admit the petitioners herein and their Nation to the Burghership in due form."

¹¹ The names of these early colonists so far as they can be gathered from the records are as follows: Abraham de Lucena, Abraham De la Simon, David Israel, Moses Ambrosius, Salvador D'Andrada, Joseph Da Costa, David Ferera, Jacob Barsimson, Jacob C. Henriques or Cohen, Isaac Mesa and Asser Levy.

tober of 1660 Asser Levy and Moses Lucena were licensed as sworn butchers.¹² A year later Asser Levy bought some lots in Fort Orange (now Albany) and later acquired land in New York City. The Jews were getting along.

This Asser Levy was a clever Jew, and one of the leaders of the early colonists. By his boldness and fearlessness he gained for the Jews the Burgher right, the right to stand guard (and thus escape a special tax), and the right to trade in Fort Orange and on the South River. He was in hot water from the very moment he stepped foot in New Amsterdam.¹³ He was never free of some legal tangle, and acted as his own attorney in almost all his cases. He was much respected by his co-religionists and by many of the more liberal Christians. He was a prominent trader, and later became the owner of a tavern, and part owner of a large slaughter-house. In 1671 he contributed money towards the building of the first Lutheran Church in New York, and lent the city 100 florins for fortifications against an expected attack of the British. Christians as well as Jews respected Asser's business acumen. He was named executor in the wills of several Christian merchants, both as administrator and trustee. He died in 1680 leaving a considerable estate to his widow and children.¹⁴ A second Asser Levy appears in the Connecticut records of 1725, and a third was an officer in a New Jersey regiment during the Revolutionary War. . . .

UNDER THE ENGLISH: 1674-1776

In 1664 an English fleet under the command of Colonel Nicholls sailed into the harbor where ten years before the "St. Charles" had dropped anchor. The city was captured, the

¹² Moreover, they were not compelled to slaughter pigs.

¹³ On September 14, 1654, we find him plaintiff in a suit against a fellow passenger, Ricky Nunez.

¹⁴ In 1664 he was among the hundred wealthiest citizens in New Amsterdam.

Dutch surrendered, and for the next hundred years the Jews of New Amsterdam became subjects of the British flag and the Duke of York,¹⁵ to whom Charles II had generously granted the provinces. Nicholls as governor promulgated the Duke's laws which contained a clause safeguarding religious rights, but which referred only and specifically to persons "who profess Christianity." Governor Andros' instructions in 1674 were not so limited. The Governor was required to "permit all persons of what religion whatsoever, quietly to inhabit within the government and to give no disturbance and disquiet whatsoever for or by reason of differing in matters of religion."

In 1683 the Colonial Assembly adopted a Charter of Liberties and Privileges which declared that "no one should be molested, punished, disquieted, or called in question for his religious opinions, who professed faith in God by Jesus Christ." This charter was regarded as a great public triumph, and was made the occasion for a holiday celebration. Drums beat and trumpets summoned the inhabitants of the city to assemble and hear the charter publicly read in front of the City Hall.

Two years later the Jews petitioned Governor Dongan (whose instructions seemed not to have contained the liberal clause given to Governor Andros) "for freedom to exercise their religion." Dongan referred the petition to the Mayor and Council of New York who pondered the matter and finally decided "that no public worship is tolerated by act of assembly, but by those that profess faith in Christ, and therefore the Jew's worship not to be allowed."

When James became king, a new copy of instructions was forwarded to Dongan in 1686, which seems to have guaranteed religious equality. There is record that the Jews rented a house on what is now 8 South Williams Street and used it as a synagogue. This was in 1682, although some say as early as 1673. The Jewish synagogue is said to have been the third house of worship in New York, the first having been erected by the Dutch Protestant Reformed Church, the official faith

¹⁵ Subsequently, James II.

under Dutch rule, and the second the Lutheran Church built in 1671.¹⁶ There is some reason to believe, indeed, that religious worship was held as early as 1654—that is, as soon as the Jews arrived. In fact, a rumor current around 1655 that the Jews were planning to build a synagogue so aroused Governor Stuyvesant and the people of the town that a letter was sent to the Dutch West India Company about the matter. Nevertheless, a synagogue did go up, and in 1695 we find Saul Brown minister of the congregation.¹⁷

During the time of Saul Brown's leadership¹⁸ the congregation Shearith Israel—the first, and for many years, the only Jewish congregation in North America—numbered twenty families. For a long time the Jews worshipped in a private house; but in 1727, with the growth of the community, a movement was started for the building of a synagogue and a building committee was appointed. On Passover of the year 1730 the first synagogue on the North American continent was formally dedicated amid great rejoicing. Moses Lopez de Fonseca, majestic and noble in his white *talith*, led the congregation in its dedicatory prayer. A year later a school was opened in connection with the synagogue.

The congregation was under the direction of a board of trustees, two acting *parnassim*, three adjuncts, and a *chazan*. The *chazan*, who at first acted also as the teacher of the school, received a yearly salary ranging from twenty to eighty pounds, or from one hundred to four hundred dollars. Later a special teacher was engaged at a salary of four hundred dollars

¹⁶ The synagogue thus antedated both the Quakers' house of worship and the Episcopal edifice.

¹⁷ Saul Brown was a merchant who had come from Newport, and in 1685 had complained to Governor Dongan that he had been interfered with in his trade. The Governor referred his complaint to the Mayor and Common Council who ruled that no Jew could sell by retail in the city but might by wholesale if the Governor thought fit to permit it. In consequence of this, Saul Brown became a wholesale merchant.

¹⁸ Saul Brown was succeeded by Abraham de Lucena, who in 1710 petitioned Governor Hunter to be exempted from all offices and duties, civil and military.

a year. The *shamas* (sexton) received two hundred dollars a year, while the *shochet* and *bodek*, the official slaughterer and inspector of cattle got two hundred dollars, free paraphernalia, residence and wood.¹⁹

For their *kosher* meat supply the congregation was dependent mostly upon Christian butchers. Under the Dutch régime Abraham de Lucena and Asser Levy were sworn butchers. On May 1, 1683, Symon A. David and Valentine Vander Wilden were allowed to cut and sell meat. For the most part though, the Jewish residents had to contract with a number of non-Jewish butchers, who permitted the *shochet* ²⁰ to kill the cattle for them and seal the parts of the meat that could not be eaten by Jews.²¹ These parts were kept separate from the rest of the meat and were sold at only stated hours. Kosher meat was shipped from New York to Curaçao, Jamaica, and other Jewish settlements in the New World, and there were many complaints that pieces of pork were found in the barrels of meat which were stamped by the *chazan*. Certain Christians had to have their little joke.

The religious life in the community was strictly regulated. Members attended the synagogue morning and evening, and an elaborate system of fines and penalties helped not only to maintain the synagogue, but to discourage laxity or indifference in religious matters.²² On the eve of the New Year 5518 (September 14, 1757), the *parnassim* and elders, smelling an ill wind, passed the following resolution: "The *parnassim* and elders having received undoubted testimony that several of our brethren have and do daily violate the principles of our

¹⁹ He was spoken to very sharply once for selling "trephe" tongues, and told that he could look for another job if it ever happened again. He said it was an accident and the matter was smoothed over.

²⁰ The "shochet" would receive from the butcher the small pieces such as lung and liver.

²¹ A watch or *shomer* was required to guard the meat.

²² There were fines for creating disturbances in the synagogue, for failing to accept office when elected to it, and for various other transgressions. It was resolved that under a penalty of forty dollars every person must be called up to the "sepher" (Law) at least once a year and perform his religious duties.

holy religion such as trading on the Sabbath, eating of forbidden meats, and other heinous crimes, and as our holy law enjoins upon us all to reprove one another agreeably to the commands of Leviticus . . . therefore whosoever for the future continues to act contrary to our law by breaking any of the principal commands will not be deemed a member of our congregation, have none of the *mitzvos* of the synagogue conferred upon him and when dead will not be buried according to the manner of our brethren." The members followed the Sephardic ritual.²³

The community revolved entirely around the synagogue;²⁴ which was not only the house of prayer, but the school,²⁵ the social center,²⁶ the scene of weddings and other events of rejoicing. The congregation was under the ægis of the London Spanish and Portuguese synagogue²⁷ and the earlier ministers were sent by the parent organization. The London synagogue was jealous of any encroachment on its power and came into conflict with the congregation Shearith Israel in 1776 when

²³ Although the congregation used the Sephardic ritual, and although the ministers and the trustees were Spanish and Portuguese Jews, there was a good percentage of Polish, German, English, and Hollandish Jews in the membership.

²⁴ In 1728 the congregation carried forty names of heads of families. In 1746 there were fifty-one members in the synagogue. As the prosperity of the members increased, the expenses of the congregation also increased. In 1729 the total expenses for the year were ninety-one pounds; while in 1746 the total amounted to two hundred and sixty-eight pounds.

²⁵ The school, which was run in connection with the synagogue, was at first used only in the afternoons; but after 1741 the school hours were from 9 to 12 in the morning, and from 2 to 5 in the afternoon. The curriculum included, besides the religious teaching, instruction in reading and writing, Spanish, Dutch, and other subjects. It is said to have been the first school of its kind in the country. Poor children were taught free but those who could afford it had to pay eight pounds quarterly.

²⁶ Charity was also under the ægis of the congregation. The trustees agreed to visit the sick weekly, while the widows of deceased members were given forty pounds. Strangers were given a helping hand and sent on to their destination. Frequent requests came to the New York synagogue for contributions from other congregations who were planning to build or had faced some calamity.

²⁷ The congregation was also visited from time to time by rabbis from Europe and Palestine who came usually to collect funds.

Isaac Pinto, a relative of Joseph Jesurun Pinto,²⁸ minister of the congregation, published a translation of the prayers for the holidays.²⁹

Although the Jews lived, for the most part, in a separate district, they mixed quite freely with the gentiles. Many of the colonists were prominent and wealthy men in the community, and took a leading part in the social life of the city. The members of the Franks family, who were among the most prominent in New York, were often the center of the gayest social circles and intermarried with the leading gentile families. In 1738 one of the Franks girls was married to Oliver Delancey,³⁰ brother of the Chief Justice of New York. There were several other cases of intermarriage, although under Dutch rule marriage between Jews and Christians had been forbidden.

There existed at this time a very strong antipathy towards Jews and Catholics which tended to keep their numbers down and prevented them from increasing in any great measure. The feeling in respect to the Jews, however, was constantly relaxing because of their insignificant numbers, and as a happy consequence they enjoyed privileges not extended to Jews in the other colonies. Kalm, the Swedish naturalist who visited New York in 1748, wrote: "There are many Jews settled in

²⁸ Joseph Jesurun Pinto, who was minister from 1759 to 1766, was born in England and was sent over by the London synagogue. He printed the earliest New York publication devoted to Jewish interests. This was a Thanksgiving Day sermon made in 1760 to celebrate the English conquest of Canada.

²⁹ The London synagogue frowned on this for it was opposed to the reading of Jewish prayers in the vernacular.

³⁰ It was Oliver Delancey who in 1749 perpetrated an outrage upon one of the Jews, which was made the subject of an official communication to Governor Clinton. A Jew who had been wealthy in Holland had emigrated to New York because of some misfortune. His wife, a fine-looking and dignified woman, resembled in appearance the wife of Governor Clinton. On one occasion, Delancey and several of his friends disguised themselves, blackened their faces and forced their way into the home of the emigrant Jew. They turned the household upside down, while Delancey attempted to take improper liberties with the man's wife because she looked like Lady Clinton. The enraged husband applied to three of the leading lawyers in the province to institute proceedings against the offenders, but was told that it was impossible to do anything because the leader of them was the brother of the Chief Justice.

New York who possess great privileges. They have a synagogue and houses and great country seats of their own property and are allowed to keep shops in town. They have likewise several ships which they freight and send out with their own goods. In fine, they enjoy all the privileges common to the other inhabitants of this town and province."

By the time the Revolution came the Jews in New York enjoyed full civil rights, although their legal status was less satisfactory. Their first great victory was won in 1672, eight years after the English had taken New York, when the ship "The Trial," owned by Rabba Couty, a New York Jewish merchant, was seized near Jamaica and the ship and its merchandise declared forfeited by the Jamaica Court of Admiralty on the grounds that Couty, being a Jew, could not, under the Navigation Act, trade with the colonies. The decision was appealed to the Council for Plantations in London, who reversed the Jamaica Court's decree of forfeiture, and held that anyone who possessed burgher rights in New York might trade under the Navigation Act. This decision was clearly of great importance for it recognized the Jews as British subjects, and was the first case in which efficacy was allowed to Jewish grants of naturalization.

In 1715 the Colonial Legislature passed an act permitting the naturalization of foreign Protestants, and all living persons who had resided in New York prior to November 1, 1683. Twelve years later the same august body went a step further, passing an act which provided that Jews taking the oath of abjuration might omit the words: "upon the true faith of a Christian."⁸¹ In 1737, however, there was a set-back. In that year the election of Colonel Frederick Phillips as a representative of the General Assembly was contested, and the colonel called upon some Jews to give evidence on his behalf. The opposition raised at once the objection that Jews could not testify as witnesses. The matter was hotly argued, and the

⁸¹ Before this act was passed, and also soon after, several Jews had been granted letters of denization by the governors.

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The commercial activities of the Jews in New York were varied. They sent their ships to the Madeiras, Spain, India, China, Africa, along the Delaware and the Hudson.³⁴ The West India trade was almost entirely in their hands, and they completely monopolized the sugar trade.³⁵ Among the more

⁸³ Writing in the "Spectator" in 1712, the essayist Addison declares that "they (the Jews) are indeed so disseminated through all the trading parts of the world, that they are become instruments by which the most distant nations converse with one another, and by which mankind are knit together in a general correspondence. They are like the pegs and nails in a great building, which though they are but little valued in themselves, are absolutely necessary to keep the whole frame together."

⁸⁵ The trade with the West Indies was of the utmost importance to the colonies. As English merchants refused to accept Colonial money, and as the balance of trade was heavily against the colonies, a large balance of coin had to be paid to England each year. This made trade with the West Indies absolutely necessary, for their gold was plentiful and their needs great.

prominent Jewish merchants in New York were Louis Gomez,³⁶ Abraham de Lucena,³⁷ Hyman Levy,³⁸ Sampson Simson,³⁹ and Samuel Levy.⁴⁰ In 1792 Benjamin Seixas and Ephraim Hart appear among the founders of the New York Stock Exchange while David Franks was commissioner of the British Forces in North America during the French and Indian War.

The Jewish population in New York grew very slowly. Right before the Revolutionary War there were not more than four hundred Jews in the province,⁴¹ while the population of the city itself jumped from four thousand in 1700 to twenty-three thousand in 1776. But, though small in numbers, the Jews of New York had, by the time of the Revolutionary War, laid the foundations of the greatest Jewish center in history.

³⁶ Louis Gomez, who emigrated to New York about 1700, played a very prominent part both in the commercial and the communal life of the city. He had five sons: Mordecai, Daniel, David, Isaac, and Benjamin. Mordecai was associated with his father, who died in 1730. Both Louis and Mordecai were *parnassim* of the synagogue. They owned their own ships, and their resources were valued at \$200,000.

³⁷ Abraham de Lucena was engaged with Louis Gomez early in the eighteenth century, in the exporting of wheat to Lisbon. Though this trade with Portugal was of short duration, it was attended by an increase in the Jewish population both in New York and Newport, for the vessels brought Jewish passengers back with them on the return journey.

³⁸ Hyman Levy, head of the firm of Levy, Lyons and Company was one of the leading fur traders in the colonies, and the first employer of John Jacob Astor, whom he paid one dollar a day for beating furs.

³⁹ Sampson Simson was a member of a delegation of eight appointed to receive the charter of the New York Chamber of Commerce from Lieutenant-Governor Colden in 1770.

⁴⁰ The name of Samuel Levy appears on a petition in 1705 concerning the fixing of a fair rate of foreign exchange. This petition—signed by sixty-six prominent New York merchants—contains also the signatures of Joseph Bueno and Abraham de Lucena. It was this same Joseph Bueno, a banker, and two or three Jewish merchants, who, in 1700 came to the aid of Governor Bellomont and lent him money to run the government.

⁴¹ There were several Jewish doctors in New York City before the Revolution, Dr. Elias Woolin, a native of Bohemia, came to New York in 1740. In 1752 Dr. Jacob Isaac arrived, and there is a Dr. Nunez on the records of the congregation. Dr. Isaac Abrahams was graduated from Columbia University in 1774.

CHAPTER FOUR

PURITANS, QUAKERS, AND JEWS

THE JEWS IN NEWPORT

FOUR years after the good ship "St. Charles" brought the twenty-three Jewish refugees from Brazil into the harbor of New York, a group of fifteen Jewish families sailed from Amsterdam in Holland for the settlement of Rhode Island, founded by Roger Williams, and known as Newport. They had heard strange tales of this place. Could it be true that here men could worship as they wished.¹

Roger Williams was a man born ahead of his time. He shared none of the narrow and petty religious prejudices of his day.² He had himself tasted the bitterness of persecution and intolerance. He had been driven forth from Massachusetts by the narrow-minded Puritan clergy, and the settlement he founded was looked down upon and ridiculed. Cotton Mather held his Puritan nose to keep the stench out, and spoke of

¹ There was no law in Rhode Island "for preventing anyone from declaring by words, etc., their minds and understanding concerning the things and ways of God."

² In a famous letter he compared the community to a ship: "There goes many a ship to sea with many hundred souls . . . whose weal and woe is common, and it is a true picture of a commonwealth or a human combination or society. It hath fallen out sometimes that both Papists and Protestants, Jews and Turks, may be embarked in one ship, upon which supposal I affirm that all the liberty of conscience that I ever pleaded for, turns upon these two hinges, that none of the Papists, Protestants, Jews, or Turks be forced to come to the ship's prayer or worship, or compelled from their own particular prayer or worship, if they practice any." Again, in arguing in favor of the admission of the Jews to England, he said: "By the merciful assistance of the Most High . . . I have longed after some trading with the Jews themselves, for whose hard measures, I fear the nations and England have yet a score to pay. I desire not that liberty for myself, which I would not freely and impartially weigh out to all the consciences of the world besides."

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Newport as "the common receptacle of the convicts of Jerusalem and the outcasts of the land."

Religious toleration was then a rare thing. Catholics were being persecuted in England, Huguenots in France, and Lutherans in Germany. Chmielnitzke with his pack of Cossacks had just perpetrated his bloody massacres in Poland and the Ukraine. The Thirty Years' War—that fierce travesty of religious hatred—had recently spent itself in the Peace of Westphalia. Jews had been driven from Spain and Portugal; refused in France and England; hounded in Latin America; spat on and reviled by the tight-lipped, narrow-minded clergy of the New England theocracies. In this vast desert of ignorance and religious bigotry, Newport seemed a veritable oasis of liberty and tolerance.

Here life was peaceful, trade brisk, a fair wind blew, and the Jews prospered. The newcomers formed a congregation the first year of their arrival, although nearly a hundred years went by before a synagogue was built. In 1677 Mordecai Campanall and Moses Packeckoe bought a plot of land for a Jewish burial ground. Gradually the community grew, Jews came from New Amsterdam and the West Indies, for the fame of the colony had spread.³

Among the fifteen families that arrived in Newport in the spring of 1658, were Mordecai Campanall, Moses Packeckoe, Levi, and others. They brought with them the first three degrees of Masonry, and were, as a matter of fact, the first to introduce the rites of masonry into North America.⁴ Their prominence in Masonic circles brought them into contact with the leading citizens of the community, and aided them considerably in material matters.

³ On August 24, 1694 the Newport Jewish community was greatly augmented and strengthened by the arrival of a ship from Curaçao with a number of Jewish families of wealth and respectability on board. About ten years before this the General Assembly of the colony, in answer to a petition of Simon Medus, David Brown and associates, declared "that they may expect as good protection here, as any stranger, being not of our nation residing among us in His Majesty's colony ought to have being obedient to His Majesty's Laws."

⁴ The Jews also introduced the Scottish rite in America.

Although the Jews of Newport had commercial relations with New York as early as 1674,⁵ the century was on a whole a rather dull and an uneventful one for both the Rhode Island town and its first Jewry. It took a long time before either one or the other really distinguished itself, for the earliest Jews of Newport were mostly small traders, merchants, or artisans,⁶ who possessed neither the wealth, the intelligence, nor the enterprise which so distinguished the later arrivals.

The turning point in the life of the Jews of Newport—and the subsequent rise of the colony as a pre-Revolutionary commercial center—had its beginning in the year 1750 with the arrival of several wealthy Jewish merchants, including the Lopez,⁷ the Rivera, the Polock, the Hart, and the Hays families. From now on Newport began to hum with activity, and only a fool or a prophet could have predicted in 1760 that New York would some day surpass Newport in commerce. The town possessed a fine harbor, deep enough for the largest vessels; and clustered about were the New England colonies,—then the most active and industrious portion of North America.

Between 1750 and 1760 fate and the weather conspired to bring some hundreds of wealthy Portuguese Jews to Newport. In Lisbon, in 1755, occurred one of the most disastrous earthquakes in history. The city trembled at its foundations, cracked

⁵ In 1674 Asser Levy was the recipient of a letter from New England, and in 1699 there is record that Isaac Cohen de Lara, a Jew, had shipped certain goods from Rhode Island to New York, which were seized by a pirate vessel.

⁶ Among the Jews known to have lived in Newport during the 17th century were: Samuel Isaac and Judah Moses, soap boilers; Moses and Jacob James, workers in brass; Isaac Benjamin, Abraham Benjamin, Isaac Moses, and Jacob Frannci or Franci, merchants and traders; Jacob and Joseph Judah, Benjamin and Moses Myers, Isaac and Nathan Lyon, David Soloman, Abraham Jacobs, Solomon Mendez, Solomon Cohen, Nathan Cohen, Aaron Cohen, and Isaac Cohen.

⁷ Of the most prominent of these merchant princes, Aaron Lopez, Judge Charles P. Daly, in his book "The Jews in North America," says: "The advantages of this important port were quickly comprehended by this sagacious merchant, and to him in a larger degree than to anyone else was due the rapid commercial development which followed and which made Newport for a quarter of a century afterwards the formidable commercial rival of New York."

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open, and crumpled in ruin. Among the thousands that fled the doomed city were many wealthy Marranos, a party of whom embarked on a vessel bound for the Virginia coast of America. But violent winds arose and the captain was forced to steer his boat into Narragansett Bay for safety. While waiting for the winds to subside, the Jewish immigrants learned of the tolerant laws of Newport, and decided at once to remain there.

Now the town began to boom. Commerce took on new life. Within fourteen years after Aaron Lopez arrived, Newport had 150 vessels engaged in trade with the West Indies alone, carrying on besides an extensive whaling business with England, Portugal, Holland, Venice, China, India, and Africa. The West Indies trade was especially lucrative. Great cargoes of molasses were shipped from the West Indies to Newport, the molasses was manufactured into rum, the rum exported to the coast of Africa in exchange for slaves, and the slaves finally sold in the West India market.

The Jews took to commerce like ducks to water. Before the Revolution, Mr. Lopez himself—generally regarded as the most successful merchant in New England—was the owner of thirty vessels engaged in European and West India trade. His father-in-law, Jacob Roderiguez Rivera, also a native of Portugal, came to Newport in 1745, and was the first Jewish merchant of any distinction in the town.⁸ Together with his son-in-law he introduced the manufacture of spermaceti in America, and was so successful in it that Newport became the center of the whale oil, soap, and candle industry in the colonies.⁹

In 1763 Newport contained between sixty and seventy Jew-

⁸ Mr. Rivera resided in Newport for forty-four years, and died there in 1789. In his first attempt to set himself up in business in Newport, he met with serious reverses, and was forced into bankruptcy. Within a few years, however, he retrieved his fortune and paid all his former creditors with interest. In addition to his business integrity he is said to have been most exemplary in the observances of all the duties and obligations of his religion.

⁹ Newport at one time contained no less than seventeen oil and candle factories, and enjoyed a monopoly in these industries until the Revolutionary War. Thus Mr. Rivera and Mr. Lopez succeeded in effecting a monopoly of the oil industry 150 years before the birth of the modern Standard Oil Company of America.

ish families, and was the largest Jewish settlement in North America.¹⁰ The Jews were the chief citizens of the town—which then ranked with Boston and Philadelphia, and far outdistanced New York in commerce—and were the main factors in its great prosperity. The Jews who had come to Newport during the middle of the eighteenth century, and directly following the Lisbon earthquake, were all of Sephardic origin. Many of them were Marranos who had held high offices in their native lands. During the long years of their forced estrangement from Judaism, they had secretly nourished their faith with a love made strong and sacred through oppression. But here, in Newport, they practised their faith openly and with a great fervor, as though to make up for the lost years. They adopted biblical names instead of their own, had the marriage ceremony performed again by a rabbi, and circumcized themselves and their sons.

These Portuguese and Spanish Jews had none of the nervous humility and shyness of other Jews, for they had long been accustomed to command, and through their veins ran the proudest blood of Castile, Aragon, and Portugal. They were an independent folk, dignified, conservative, and hot-tempered. They looked down upon their German, Dutch, and Polish brethren, and considered themselves superior to the gentiles around them.

Up until the arrival of these enterprising merchants and their families, religious worship had been held in private homes. But in 1762 construction was begun on a synagogue, which, in the following year, was dedicated with great ceremony. It was a fine structure—forty feet long by thirty wide—and cost two thousand pounds to build. It contained three Sepher Torahs, one of which was more than two hundred years old. A gallery for women ran around the upper part of the synagogue, and five hanging lamps illuminated the interior. Built of brick and standing on a little plateau, it was one of the most

¹⁰ What is now in Newport the north side of the Mall was then covered with Jewish residences.

magnificent edifices in New England, and spoke well for the taste and wealth of the Newport Jewish community. The congregation was called the Jeshuath Israel (Hope of Israel) and Rabbi Israel Touro, a noted scholar, was called from Jamaica in 1760 to lead the flock.¹¹

The erection of the synagogue¹² seemed to hasten the growth of the community. Just before the Revolutionary War three hundred worshipers used to gather in the synagogue, while it is estimated that Newport itself contained 1,175 Jews.¹³ The community had a reputation for wealth and charity, and hardly a day passed that a request for money failed to come from some part of Europe or Palestine, or failed, indeed, to go unanswered.

Many foreign rabbis, attracted by the marvelous accounts of Newport and its synagogue, came there to preach.¹⁴ Of these the strangest and most picturesque was Rabbi Chayyim Isaac Karigal, a wandering Rabbi who had traveled over most of the then known world. Rabbi Karigal was a native of Hebron in Palestine, where he was born on October 15, 1733. At the age of twenty-one, after completing his studies for the rabbinate, he set out on his travels. He went first to Egypt, but finding the opportunities small and the taste for adventure unappeased, he journeyed thence to Smyrna, to Constantinople, to Adrianople, Salonica, Aleppo, Damascus, Ur of Chaldee,

¹¹ Rabbi Touro married a sister of Moses Hays—afterwards one of the most eminent merchants in Boston. The Rabbi was not only held in high esteem by his parishioners, but gained also the respect and friendship of many Christian clergymen. Ezra Stiles, fifth president of Yale, was one of his closest friends.

¹² The synagogue conducted a school and administered charity. The Portuguese ritual was adhered to.

¹³ In 1761 a Hebrew club was organized in Newport. Its membership was limited to nine, but each member was permitted to invite one friend at a time. The meeting hours were from five to ten and from five to eight the members were allowed to enjoy themselves in games of chance. Twenty shillings was the highest stake that could be gambled for at cards, and for each violation the offender was fined four bottles of wines. Cursing, swearing or other objectionable conduct merited similar fines.

¹⁴ There is record of six foreign rabbis who visited and preached in the Newport synagogue.

Bagdad, Ispahan. From there he turned to Europe, visiting in turn Leghorn, Venice, Rome, Vienna, Frankfort, Prague, Holland, and London. In 1761, at the age of twenty-eight, having now traveled for seven years in Europe and Asia Minor, he left for the New World. Fair winds brought him to Curaçao, where he stayed as chazan and rabbi for more than two years. But in 1764 he grew restless again, his feet itched for the feel of new soil, and one day Rabbi Karigal had left Curaçao and was on his way to Amsterdam. Now began his adventures all over again. He made once more the grand tour of Europe, and feeling weary now with his many wanderings, he turned his face to the east, and returned like the prodigal son to his native city of Hebron. Here he took unto himself a wife, who bore him in good time, a son and a daughter. For four years he was content to remain master and lord of his household until once more the fever of travel laid him low. Whereupon Rabbi Karigal took ship for Marseilles, France, journeyed thence to Paris, and crossing the channel, came to London, where for two and a half years he earned his bread and butter as a teacher of Hebrew. In 1771 he sailed again for the New World, going this time to Jamaica where he appears to have combined trade with preaching. A short time after he set sail for Philadelphia, visited New York, and stopped off at Newport, where he remained for some time as chazan and preacher.¹⁵ In Newport he made the acquaintance of Ezra Stiles, fifth president of Yale, and in time they became very close friends. They visited each other often and Stiles would listen open-mouthed to the strange tales of Rabbi Karigal. In the Barbadoes, in 1778, with death at the helm, Rabbi Karigal took his last great journey.¹⁶

¹⁵ On May 28, 1773, Rabbi Karigal preached a sermon in Spanish that was later translated into English and published by Abraham Lopez. Among those present at this occasion were Governor Warton, Judge Oliver, Judge Auchmuty, and Ezra Stiles. The latter often attended the Rabbi's sermons, and on various occasions invited him to preach in his own church.

¹⁶ He died, unfortunately, before being able to visit again his wife and children.

Dr. Stiles was deeply interested in Jews and Judaism.¹⁷ He spoke Hebrew fluently and read the Talmud. He spoke and wrote favorably of the Jewish religion, and declared himself openly a friend of the Jews. It was a good thing that he did, for the Jews needed all the friends they could get. As Newport became more prosperous, she became less tolerant; and there arose incidents, from time to time, which showed clearly the way the land lay. In the year 1762, for instance, when Aaron Lopez and Isaac Eleazar applied for naturalization in order to be able to trade in the English colonies, the petition, granted, at first, was later set aside by the Superior Court. The learned opinion handed down by the court ran in this fashion:

"The petitions of Messrs. Aaron Lopez and Isaac Eleazar, persons professing the Jewish religion, praying that they may be naturalized on an act of Parliament, made in the thirteenth year of His late Majesty's reign, George II, having been duly considered and also the act of Parliament therein referred to, this Court was unanimously of the opinion that the said act of Parliament was wisely designed for increasing the number of inhabitants in the plantations, but this colony being already so full of people that His Majesty's good subjects, born within the same, have removed and settled in Nova Scotia and other places, cannot come within the intention of said act. { Further by the charter granted to this colony, it appears that the free and quiet enjoyment of the Christian religion and a desire of propagating the same were the principal views with which the colony was settled and by law made and passed in the year 1663, no person who does not profess the Christian religion can

¹⁷ As pastor of the Second Congregational Church of Newport for twenty-three years, Dr. Stiles had an excellent opportunity to gain an insight into the character of the Jews. In his diary, Dr. Stiles records that he met and conversed with five foreign rabbis, besides Rabbi Karigal. These were Rabbi Moses Malki of Palestine, who came to Newport in 1759; Rabbi Moses Bar David of Poland; who was in the colony in 1772; Rabbi Tobiah Ben Yehudah of Cracow, who visited the synagogue in 1773; a Rabbi Bosquita of Smyrna in 1774; and a Rabbi Samuel Cohen of Jerusalem, in about the same year.

be admitted free of this colony, the Court therefore unanimously dismisses this petition as wholly inconsistent with the first principles upon which the colony was founded and a law of the same now in force."¹⁸ As it turned out, however, Lopez had the last laugh. He applied for, and was granted, naturalization in Massachusetts, and thus circumvented the decision of the Court.

On the eve of the Revolution, Newport was the center of Judaism in America, and one of the most prosperous ports in the thirteen colonies.¹⁹ Besides its extensive commerce the town had seventeen factories for the manufacture of whale oil and candles, twenty-two distilleries, four sugar refineries, five ropewalks, and many furniture factories. Commerce was carried on with Amsterdam, London, Spain, Portugal, Venice, the West Indies, and even China and India. Besides his commercial activities Aaron Lopez was also engaged in the manufacture of potash, having been granted a patent for ten years upon an improved method of manufacturing this product. Aaron's half-brother, Moses Lopez, is said to have possessed twenty-seven ships, and was his brother's partner in whaling.²⁰ In 1773 Aaron Lopez was one of a committee of three which drafted a petition to His Majesty's First Secretary of State for an explicit recognition of the rights of the colonists to engage in the establishment of the Leicester Academy, while his half-brother, Moses, and Jacob Josephs were among the founders of the Redwood Library.

Newport seemed a veritable Eden to the Jews. Here life was good, they were secure, their business flourished mightily, and pockets were well-lined. An event was soon to occur, how-

¹⁸ Arnold, the historian of Rhode Island, attributed this decision to party spirit and expresses the opinion that it subverts an act of Parliament passed in 1740 which authorizes the naturalization of all Jews who have lived in the colonies for seven years or more, violates the principle of the charter, and enunciates principles never acted upon in this colony.

¹⁹ In the year 1770 eighteen vessels arrived in Newport in one day.

²⁰ Aaron and Moses Lopez were the first to push whaling to the Falkland Islands.

ever, which was to destroy their security, ruin their prospects, and forever blast their settlement. Of this event we shall treat later.

AMONG THE PURITANS

There were no people in the New World—and for that matter, few in the old—who were spiritually as closely akin to the Jews as the Pilgrims and the Puritans.²¹ The Puritans studied the Old Testament in order to better understand the New. From the former they derived their civil polity, from the latter their church discipline and ceremonials. Moses was their law-giver, the Pentateuch their code, and Israel under the Judges their ideal of popular government. With the rise of the Puritans came a revival of the study of the Old Testament and of Hebrew and Hebrew teaching. The Law of Moses was the most influential factor in the government of the New England colonies. In framing the laws of the colonies, legislatures sought to harmonize political ideas with biblical ideas.²² The Mosaic Law was adopted in the Connecticut Code of 1650;²³ while half the statutes in the Code of 1655 for the colony of New Haven contained references to the Old Testament, and only three percent to the New.²⁴

The Bible was the one book found in all households and read on all occasions. From this book the child learned how

²¹ In his work "The Founding of New England," James Truslow Adams writes: "Christ did indeed occupy a place in their theology, but in spirit they may be considered as Jews and not Christians. Their God was the God of the Old Testament, their laws were the laws of the Old Testament, their guides to conduct were the characters of the Old Testament."

²² In 1642 there was established for the colony of Massachusetts the principle that "ye Judicials of Moses are immutable and perpetual."

²³ In New Haven's declaration of legislative principles, there is found the doctrine that "the judicial laws of God as they were delivered by Moses . . . shall be accounted of moral equity and generally bind all offenders, and be a rule of all the courts in this jurisdiction in their proceeding against offenders. . . ."

²⁴ Of the 79 topical statutes for its government, fifty percent contained references solely to the Old Testament, nine percent to the Old and the New and only three percent to the Christian gospels.

to read, the sorrowful received consolation, the minister drew his text, the politician his theme, and seekers of wisdom their knowledge. The history of the Jews was the only history which many of the people knew. From it the Puritans gained self-discipline, austerity, and strength of will, and Puritanism its toughness.

Many of the Puritans believed that the Indians were the descendants of the lost ten tribes of Israel. John Eliot, a missionary to the Indians, translated the Bible into the Indian dialect, and declared that he recognized resemblances between the Indians and the ancient Hebrews; for, like the latter, the former disliked pigs, computed time by nights and months, and anointed their heads. The theory became very popular both in Europe and America, and was indulged in by the Mathers who gave it credence.²⁵

Hebrew learning was common among the New England clergy.²⁶ At Harvard, Hebrew was a compulsory course from the founding of the institution, and ranked with Latin and Greek. Increase Mather delivered orations in Hebrew, while his son Cotton Mather wrote a creditable thesis on Hebrew punctuation. The Bay Psalm Book written in 1640 by Richard Mather, John Eliot, and Thomas Weld contained an original translation of the Psalms from the Hebrew and also several Hebrew words. Hebrew was the holy language, while the Puritans regarded the Hebrew Old Testament the supreme authority as against the Latin Vulgate of the Catholics.²⁷

Still another factor in the great Puritan interest in the Jew was the belief that the millennium was imminent, and awaited only the dispersal of the Jews through every land and their

²⁵ The wide popularity of this curious theory explains in part the great Puritan interest in the Jews. Many scholars spent their days trying to discover Semitic elements in the Indian tongue.

²⁶ Among the Hebraists were Governor Bradford, Elder Brewster, John Cotton, the Mathers, Henry Dunster—first president of Harvard,—Charles Chauncey, his successor, Thomas Thatcher, and Judge Sewall.

²⁷ This fact made necessary a knowledge of Hebrew on the part of the clergy. Most clergymen had, at least, a smattering of the language.

final conversion to Christianity.²⁸ It was the chief ambition of the Puritan clergy to be instrumental in converting the Jews, and thus hasten the coming of the Kingdom of God on Earth. Increase Mather, President of Harvard and leader of the Puritans, prayed: "This day, from the dust, where I lay prostrate before the Lord, I lift up my cries, for the conversion of the Jewish nation and for my own . . . happiness, at some time or other to baptize a Jew. . . ." ²⁹

~~Now consider the strange paradox, that although the Puritans were so spiritually akin to the Jews, and although they received the greater part of their spiritual nourishment from the Old Testament, there were yet very few Jews in the New England colonies, outside of Rhode Island, before the Revolution. Now the reason is that the Puritans were a bitter, prejudicial, narrow-minded, intolerant folk, with a highly developed persecution mania. Half drunk and unbalanced with their own heady fanaticism and zeal, they were ready to murder and torture in the name of God and religion.~~

The first record of a Jew in Massachusetts dates back to the year 1648, only twenty years after the founding of Boston. In this year a certain Isaac Abrahams appeared before a notary in Boston and asked him to witness a bill of sale of his vessel "The Bride of Enchusen." In the following year Solomon Franco came over as agent of Immanuel Perada with a cargo consigned to Major General Edward Gibbons. The venture proved unsuccessful and Franco, finding himself without enough money to leave, threatened to settle in Boston. In their anxiety to rid themselves of the Jew the government voted to "allow the said Solomon Franco six shillings per week out of

²⁸ This belief played a prominent part in the sentiment for the readmission of the Jews to England in 1655.

²⁹ In his book, "The Faith of the Fathers," which he dedicated to the Jews, he declared that Christianity was the complete Jewish religion developed through Jesus, and that if only the Jews would return to the faith of the Old Testament, then they would lose their religious myopia and see the light. The book contained passages of the Old Testament so arranged as to prove Jesus the Messiah of the Jews. The author sent a copy of the book to a Jew, Fraser or Frason in Boston.

the treasury for ten weeks for his sustenance till he can get his passage into Holland, so that he do it within that time."

In the first Boston Tax List of 1674 appears the name of Rowland Gideon, "ye Jew," rated at sixteen shillings.³⁰ On August 4, 1677, a Jew, Robert Levy, is arrested while attending a Quaker meeting. Then a long silence. Two Jews—Raphael Abandana and Samuel the Jew—appear in the list of Boston inhabitants of 1695. . . . Simon the Jew is baptized at Charleston in 1700 and assumes the name of Barns.³¹ . . . In March, 1715 one Barshaba Hart, a widow, comes to Boston and later marries William Foster of Great Britain. . . . Isaac Lopez and Abraham Goatus, two merchants, come from London during this period and build up a lucrative trade. . . . Lopez is elected to the post of constable but declines to serve and is fined. . . . Michael Asher operates a snuff mill in 1716. . . . On February 22, 1733, Asher and Isaac Solomon buy a plot of land for a burying ground, but lose it later when Asher goes into bankruptcy. . . .

In early New England the right to inhabit a town was a privilege which could be obtained only upon the consent of the authorities.³² All undesirable strangers were ordered to leave, or sometimes permitted to remain temporarily upon furnishing heavy bonds. In 1680 John Foster gave forty pounds security that Joseph Bueno would not become a charge to the town of Boston. On April 24, 1756, Philip Samuel, a Jew from New York, was ordered by the Selectmen to leave the town. He paid no attention to the gentlemen and in September the warn-

³⁰ Rowland Gideon was one of the Jews to whom letters of denization to reside in the colonies had been granted by the English government. In 1675 he appears associated with one Barruck in a law suit.

³¹ The baptism was a great public ceremony and was attended by functionaries. Cotton Mather's efforts, however, to convert Fraser or Frason proved fruitless.

³² This was, in a measure, justified because admission to a town included the right of support by the town in case the individual was unable to care for himself. The practice, at first, was not to admit anyone as an inhabitant unless the town was able to allot land for the newcomer. Later the town admitted settlers if they were able to buy land from others.

ing was repeated. David Campanell, a Jew from Rhode Island, was warned out of Boston on June 15, 1726. In 1762 Isaac Moses was warned to leave Boston or give security. . . .

Thus we see that before the Revolution there were only a few scattered Jews in Boston, most of them perhaps traders passing through the colony, or there temporarily on business. There was, however, one Jew, or rather a converted Jew, who played a prominent part in Boston. This was Judah Monis, instructor of Hebrew at Harvard from 1722 to 1760, and the author of the first Hebrew grammar published in North America (1735).

Judah Monis was born in Algeria on February 4, 1683, and thirty-two years later was admitted as a Freeman by the Mayor and City Council of New York. In New York he earned his living as a merchant, and seems also to have pursued the vocation of Rabbi. In 1720, tiring of New York, he entered Harvard, and in 1722 was given his Master of Arts degree.³³ During the same year, for reasons known to himself, he embraced Christianity, and was appointed instructor of Hebrew at Harvard at fifty pounds a year. He did his work well, for in the following year his salary was raised to eighty pounds, and continued to be raised until in 1745 he was earning two hundred and forty-five pounds a year. In 1724 he married a young lady named Abigail Marret and bought a house and an estate near Cambridge where he lived the remainder of his life. In his later days things did not go so well. In the fifties his course at Harvard seems to have lost its drawing power. He opened a shop to help meet expenses, and from time to time was granted allotments from the college treasury.³⁴ In 1760 his wife died and he resigned his teaching position to go and live with his brother-in-law, John Martin, in Westbridge. Here he died on April 25, 1764, leaving the bulk of his estate for the relief of poor widows of ministers. . . .

³³ He was the only Jew to get a degree from Harvard prior to 1800.

³⁴ In 1753 twenty pounds were granted him by the state legislature. His pension was continued until 1760.

The first inkling we have of any Jews in Connecticut is a fine of twenty shillings imposed on one, "David the Jew," on November 9, 1659. During the following year there seem to have been several Jews in Hartford, but they were only temporary residents—perhaps traders or peddlers. In 1670 Jacob Lucena was tried at Hartford and fined twenty pounds for breaking the Sabbath.³⁵ Asser Levy of New York, that staunch champion of Jewish liberties, intervened for Lucena and succeeded in reducing the fine to fifteen pounds. In 1723, the court records mention the names of Moses Levy and Isaac De Medina. Jacob Franks, Abraham Pinto, and Asser Levy lived in Connecticut in 1724, and Isaac Jacobs in 1725. President Stiles of Yale, in his diary, records the fact that the first family of Jews arrived in New Haven from the West Indies in the year 1772. A number of Jews were residents of Norwalk as early as 1760.³⁶ The Pinto family, the most prominent Jewish family in Connecticut, had one of its members in Stratford³⁷ as early as 1748. Jacob and Solomon Pinto found themselves in New Haven some time around 1759, and a certain Jacob Sima was Justice of the Peace in 1773.

It is plain to see, from this staccatic account, that the Jews in Connecticut, prior to the Revolution, were few and far between. There is no record of any congregation or Jewish burial ground and but scant signs of a Jewish community. It was only during the Revolution that the Jews began to come to Connecticut in any appreciable numbers. . . .

Neither Maine, New Hampshire, nor Vermont had any Jewish community prior to 1800, although individual Jews came occasionally to trade there. Sussman Abrams of Hamburg settled at Union, Maine, during the Revolution and conducted a tannery there. The Moses and Abrams families are found in Vermont as early as 1693, but it is doubtful whether they were Jewish. In 1770 a grant of land was made to one

³⁵ . . . "To be imprisoned until the fine is paid and immediately on his discharge to leave the colony."

³⁶ Of these, Michael Judah was the most prominent.

³⁷ Isaac Pinto.

Joseph Levy in New Hampshire. William Levi was a private in the Second New Hampshire Continental Regulars, and Abraham Isaac, an active Mason, settled in Portsmouth at the close of the war.

The story of the Jews in New England prior to the Revolution is brief and quickly told. They are found in large numbers only in Newport because of the religious freedom granted them there. In the Puritan colonies one finds only a scattered few; but the very air, the thought and the life of the people breathe the spirit and temper of Judaism.

THE QuAKERS AND THE JEWS

There were Jews in Pennsylvania even before William Penn received his grant of land, and they played a prominent part in the development of this Quaker colony. In 1655 several New York Jews—Abraham de Lucena, Salvator D'Andrada, and Jacob Cohen—were already trading in Pennsylvania. They had the tough luck, however, to run up against the irascible Peter Stuyvesant, Governor of New York, who also had control of the territory of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and were forced to terminate their trading activities on the Delaware River. In 1657 a Jew, Isaiah Mesa or Masa or Mara participated in a law suit in that region. In 1662 when a company of Mennonites proposed to found a colony on the Delaware they promised themselves to exclude "all usurious Jews" from their Christian midst. A note of hope was struck in 1664 when Sir Robert Can, seizing control of the Delaware region in the name of England, received instructions from the government that "all the people should enjoy the liberty of their conscience."

William Penn received his grant in 1681, and in 1703 we already find a Jew by the name of Jonas Aaron settled comfortably in the little village of Philadelphia. Another early Jewish settler was Isaac Miranda, who probably came to

Pennsylvania as early as 1710. He was the first Jewish settler of Lancaster—having come there around 1733—and was characterized by James Logan, secretary of the province, as an “apostate Jew or fashionable Christian proselyte.” In 1727 he was appointed “agent to receive and collect the perquisites and rights of Admiralty” and on June 19 of the same year he was appointed “deputy-judge of the court of vice-admiralty”—the first judicial office to be held by a Jew in the provinces. He mixed politics with business, was a large landholder, and an extensive trader with the Indians.

By 1734 there were several Jewish families in Philadelphia, and in the same year a German traveler, by the name of Von Beck, enumerates them among the religious sects in the city. In 1738 Nathan Levy applied for a grant of land to be used as a burial place for his family, and two years later was granted his request.

One of the most prominent citizens of Philadelphia was David Franks who came to the Quaker City from England early in life, and went into business with David Levy under the firm name of Levy and Franks.⁸⁸ In 1748 when the City Dancing Assembly—Philadelphia’s most famous social organization—was founded, David Franks, Joseph Marks, and Samson Levy were on the list of subscribers.

The first Jewish congregation in Philadelphia, the Kahal Kadosh Mickve Israel, had its beginnings about the year 1745, when the men of the Jewish community gathered for worship in a small house on Sterling Alley. In 1761, due to the influx of Jews from Spain and Portugal, the congregation moved to Joseph Kauffman’s house in Cherry Alley between Third and Fourth Streets, and a room on the second floor was fitted out for worship. In 1773 when Barnard Gratz was parnass and Solomon Marache was treasurer a subscription was started for a synagogue. In time the money was raised, the builders got

⁸⁸ The company of Levy and Franks was the first Jewish business house in Philadelphia.

busy and on September 13, 1782, the synagogue³⁹ stood complete and ready for the dedication services.⁴⁰ The first Rabbi was the Reverend Gershom Mendes Seixas, who had fled from New York with many of his parishioners when the English had seized the city at the beginning of the Revolutionary War.

The next city to be settled after Philadelphia was Lancaster, in western Pennsylvania. Miranda, we know, owned property there even before the town and county were organized (1730). Ten years later there were several Jewish families in the town. In 1743 Isaac Nunes Ricus (Henriques)—who came from Georgia in 1741—and Joseph Simon—the best known merchant in the city—conveyed half an acre of land for a place of burial. In Lancaster, too, lived Dr. Isaac Cohen, the first Jewish doctor of Pennsylvania.

One of the founders of the town of Easton in Northampton County, Pennsylvania (1750), was Myer Hart de Shira (Texeira), the first Jewish merchant in the town. He took the oath of allegiance in 1764 and became in time one of the richest men of the city. Michael Hart, another rich merchant, was an extensive landholder and deeded to his son in 1800 a burial ground for the Jews. Although several Jewish families lived in Easton, no synagogue was built there until 1839.

It has been said that Jews established themselves in Schaffers-town, Pennsylvania, prior to 1732, and that in the same year they had a cemetery and a synagogue. This, however, seems to be a myth, and may have grown from the fact that the early German pietists who established themselves there assumed many of the old Hebrew customs and were consequently mistaken for Jews.

³⁹ The increase in the congregation due to the influx of New York Jews to Philadelphia made possible the building of a synagogue, which was erected on Cherry Street near Third at a cost of \$3,000. Of this sum Haym Salomon, the Jewish-Polish financier, donated one-fourth.

⁴⁰ The dedication was attended by the governor and other officials and attracted a great deal of attention. The membership at that time numbered over 100. The officers were Jonas Phillips, president; Michael Gratz, vice-president; Solomon Marache, treasurer; Solomon Myers Cohen and Simon Nathan, trustees.

Many Jews were engaged in the sale and exploitation of land. In 1763, owing to the depredations of the Shawnee and Delaware Indians, twelve traders, including David Franks Levy, Andrew Levy, and Joseph Simon, suffered a loss of nearly a half million dollars. On July 5, 1773, Moses Franks, Jacob Franks, Barnard Gratz, Michael Gratz, Moses Franks, Jr., Joseph Simon, and Andrew Levy, were parties to a sale of southern Illinois land, which the Indians conveyed to twenty-two residents of Pennsylvania.⁴¹

The greatest land speculator in Pennsylvania was Aaron Levy who purchased land in Haines Township, Center County, upon which he laid out the town of Aaronsburg (recorded Oct. 4, 1786)—the first town in the United States to be laid out by and named after a Jew.⁴²

At the close of the Revolution there were about eight hundred Jews in Pennsylvania, many of whom had come from New York and South Carolina. They enjoyed all rights of other citizens but could not become members of the Assembly. On December 23, 1783, the Reverend Gershom Mendes Seixas, Simon Nathan, Asher Myers, Barnard Gratz, and Haym Salomon petitioned the Council of Assessors to remove from the Constitution the article requiring each member of the Assembly to affirm his belief in the divine inspiration of the New Testament. Very soon after the law was changed, and all disabilities were removed.

⁴¹ This territory never became the property of those interested in its purchase.

⁴² After the Revolution he became a partner of Robert Morris, the American millionaire, in land speculation.

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CHAPTER FIVE
TO THE SOUTH
THE JEWS IN GEORGIA

WHILE the Jews played a very active rôle in the development of the northern English colonies in America, their participation in the founding and the development of the southern states was of even greater importance. At least two of the present southern states owe their very existence almost to the early Jewish settlers. In Georgia, for instance, during the early years, the Jews formed one-third of the population; while the post-revolutionary prosperity of Charleston, South Carolina, was largely due to its Jewish merchants and traders. At one time this city was the Jewish center of the United States and contained more Jews than either New York or Philadelphia. . . .

Scarcely had General James Oglethorpe founded the colony of Georgia, when, on July 11, 1733, a ship¹ containing forty men, women and children of the Jewish faith sailed into the harbor of Savannah. These forty newcomers were utterly unexpected by the colonists, and their arrival caused a lot of excitement and consternation, for the prejudice against Jews was still strong in the hearts of the common people. On the very day that these forty Jews landed in Georgia, a great celebration was taking place on the site of the city now known as Savannah. Governor Oglethorpe had assembled before him the 115 colonists he had brought with him earlier in the year, and was apportioning to them the land which had been promised them by the trustees. This distribution of free land and the organization of a municipal government was accompanied by feasting and rejoicing. But suddenly the merrymaking stopped,

¹ This was the second ship to reach the colony.

for here came forty unwelcome strangers into their midst, and the question arose: what should be done with them?

General Oglethorpe was a gentleman and a judge of character. He saw at once that these Jews were an honest, hard-working lot, and would be a great aid to the young colony. Almost all of the newcomers were of Portuguese and Spanish descent, many of them of noble blood, and formerly possessed of great wealth.² It was a good thing for the Jews that the Governor was so friendly to them, for they had undergone great hardships in coming here. Their vessel, damaged by gales, had been driven into the harbor of New Inlet, in North Carolina, where they had stayed for some time before setting out for Georgia.

The colony of Georgia had been founded a few months previously under the most peculiar conditions. Oglethorpe—one of the most high-minded men of his time—had set on foot a scheme for the establishment of an American colony between the Altamaha and Savannah Rivers to which debtors and other destitute persons in England might be sent to begin their lives anew. Here they were each to be given the use of a tract of land for ten years, and were to be supported during their first year in the colony. Oglethorpe argued so ably and sincerely for his cause that Parliament departed with a liberal sum of money. A charter was obtained and a company was organized consisting of twenty-one trustees who were clothed with plenary powers for the government of the colony. But the money given by Parliament was hardly enough for this expensive undertaking and additional funds had to be raised by public subscription. The scheme aroused a great deal of enthusiasm, and Oglethorpe, who was one of the Trustees, was appointed governor.

The Trustees of the company had commissioned three persons in London to obtain subscriptions. One was Anthony

² Among them was a physician, Dr. Samuel Ribiero Nunez; and a horticulturist who introduced the cultivation of the grape into the colony.

Da Costa, the other, Francis Salvador, and the third, Alvaro Lopez Suasso. These were probably the most prominent Jews in England, and the leaders in the Portuguese synagogue. Salvador was a director in the Dutch East India Company, one of the leading merchants in England, and an owner of immense tracts of land in South Carolina. Da Costa was the first Jewish director in the Bank of England, and Suasso, a man of great wealth.

It so happened, that about this time—say, with the beginning of the 1720's—a stream of German-Jews, driven from Germany by great poverty and the cruelty of their princes, and attracted by the prosperity of the English capital, flowed into London. For a while the Portuguese had their hands full, until it occurred to them that it would be a good idea to send these German-Jews to the new colony in Georgia. The leaders of the Portuguese-Jewish congregation started right in to collect the necessary funds, and before long a sufficient amount of money was raised. But by this time the trustees had gotten wind of what was going on and set up a howl. They ordered the Jewish leaders to turn over all the money they had raised, and surrender their rights to collect any further subscriptions. In the meantime the trustees appointed a committee to prepare for publication a statement assuring the public that they did not propose to make a "Jews' colony of Georgia."

This done, the trustees wrote to Oglethorpe that they had heard with grave apprehension of the arrival of Jews in Georgia, that they were very, very sorry it happened, and that they hoped that "they (the Jews) would meet with no sort of encouragement." They were very much afraid that the Jews might prove injurious to the trade and welfare of the colony. What did Oglethorpe think about it? Well, Oglethorpe thought the Trustees a bunch of fools. He wrote that the Jews were very beneficial to the colony, and commented especially on the wonderful work of Dr. Nunez. The Trustees wrote back that they certainly appreciated the work of Dr. Nunez, and to show their appreciation they suggested that Dr. Nunez should

be given a gratuity. But as far as land was concerned, they still thought it better to withhold the grants from the Jews.

Now, clearly enough, the entry of the Jews into Georgia ³ had been irregular, to say the least, for it had been definitely understood that all the money—which had been collected under a commission granted by the plenary council of trustees—was to be turned over to the trustees. Instead, the Jewish leaders used the money to charter a vessel and send the Jewish refugees to Savannah. Oglethorpe had not been advised of the coming of the Jewish colonists and was at first at a loss to know what to do. However, he concluded to receive them because the charter granted liberty of worship to all except Papists, and he notified the trustees to this effect. Naturally, the trustees were annoyed at this and did not hesitate to announce their disapproval of his act, declaring that it was prejudicial to the good order and scheme of the colony,⁴ and that many benefactions had been lost because of this unlooked-for Jewish invasion.

The forty Jews who came to Georgia in the first ship were mostly all of Spanish or Portuguese descent ⁵—some, indeed, direct refugees from Portugal. Most of them had independent means, many had brought considerable funds with them, and all had paid their own passage across. They asked for no charity, they demanded no special privileges, they wanted only the land their money had paid for.

Dr. Nunez, the most prominent of the newcomers, was a Marrano, who had been arrested by the Inquisitors in Portugal

³ A few months after the settlement of the Portuguese Jews three others arrived: Isaac De Val, Moses Le Desma, and Abraham Nunez. Nunez owned six farms, Le Desma, ten, and another Portuguese Jew, Henrique, seven. All these farms had been purchased because although other immigrants were granted free land, the Jewish settlers had been left out in the distribution.

⁴ Georgia was intended by the Trustees to be a model colony. Rum and lawyers were both prohibited.

⁵ Although the subscriptions had been raised to aid the German Jews to come to Georgia, the first Jewish settlers were Portuguese Jews of independent means, for London at that time was not only the haven for the poverty-stricken German Jewish refugees, but also of the aristocratic Portuguese Jews who had fled from the Inquisition which was still alive in the country.

for practicing Judaism. His services to the King of Portugal were so valued, that he was released from prison, and two officers were placed in his home to see that he did not relapse to Judaism. One day, while giving a dinner to some guests in his home in Lisbon, he arranged with an English captain to be taken with his family to England. This was successfully accomplished, and a short time later, he set sail for Georgia. . . .

Although Benjamin Sheftall, one of the early Jewish settlers in Georgia, makes no mention of German Jews in his diary, some German Jews may have come over on the first ship, or very soon thereafter, for in the writings of the Rev. Bolzius, a Protestant-German minister (March 14, 1734), we come across the following: "The Jews likewise, of whom there are twelve families, go to church and seem to be very devout. They understand the German tongue. Even the Jews of whom several families are here enjoy privileges the same as other colonists. Some call themselves German Jews, others Portuguese and Spanish. The former speak high German and differ from the latter in their religious services and to some extent in other matters as well, as the latter do not seem to be so particular about the dietary laws and other Jewish ceremonies. They have no synagogue which is their own fault. The German Jews believe themselves entitled to build a synagogue and are willing to allow the Spanish and Portuguese to use it with them in common. They, however, reject any such arrangement and demand the preference for themselves." ⁶

In 1734, the German Jews formed a congregation of their own—the Mickveh Israel—one of the earliest in the United States. In 1737 Benjamin Mendez of London sent the congregation a Sepher Torah, a Hanukah Lamp and some books. It was a hard struggle at first, for money was scarce, and members

⁶ The Pastor also writes in praise of the willingness of the Jews to help some German settlers who had come to the colony as religious refugees: "They are very willing to serve us and the Salzburger that it surprises us and are so sober and faithful that the like is hardly to be found. These Jews show a great love for us and have promised to help us and our settlement."

were not too plentiful. A synagogue or a chazan were out of the question, and for the first seven years the congregation worshipped in a house on Market Square, and then in the home of Mordecai Sheftall—who thirty years later dedicated a piece of land for a synagogue and cemetery.

Here in the pine forests of Georgia the Jews prayed to their God, and worked steadily at their daily tasks.⁷ Here, on July 7, 1734, Abraham Minis rejoiced over the birth of a son Philip—the first white male child born in Georgia; and here, a year later, were heard the shrill cries of Mordecai Sheftall—destined to become years later Deputy Commissary General during the Revolutionary War.⁸

The Jews prospered. They could trade and barter freely, and before long they were among the leading merchants in the colony. But in 1740-41 the trustees put a stop to slave traffic in the colony. This was such a severe blow to business that most of the Jews left the colony and only three families remained: the Sheftalls, the Minises, and the De Lyons. The congregation, of course, was dissolved. In 1750 some of the Jews returned, and things began to pick up. In 1751 Joseph Ottolenghi, a Jew by birth, was sent to the colony to superintend the silk industry, and ten years later was made a member of the colonial assembly. Benjamin Sheftall represented the Jews at the formation of the famous Union Society in 1751;⁹ Moses Nunez was searcher of the Port of Savannah and Indian interpreter in 1768; and Daniel and Moses Nunez were among the earliest Master Masons in the colony. In 1773 Mordecai

⁷ “. . . even in the Pine forests of Georgia, the Jews did not forget the God of their fathers or to lift up their voices in prayer, with their faces turned to the east. While the trustees of the colony were expending large sums for subsisting, many slothful and discontented immigrants whose idleness weakened and whose factions almost ruined the scheme of benevolence these descendants of the father of the faithful . . . proved their worth by services of real value and by officers of tried devotion.”—From the historian Stevens.

⁸ His son Sheftall, born in Savannah, Sept. 8, 1762, was appointed assistant-deputy under his father at the age of fourteen.

⁹ This Society is still in existence.

Sheftall donated land for a cemetery, and in the following year a new congregation was started.

With the Jews back in Savannah, business and commerce once more became brisk and life vigorous. Had it not been for the Jewish colonists,¹⁰ the congregation of Moravians, and a small body of Highlanders from Scotland, the colony would certainly have failed; for the persons for whose benefit the colony was especially intended were slothful and discontented and would neither work nor serve as soldiers to protect the colony from the Spaniards, who threatened its very existence.

THE JEWS IN CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA

The Jewish settlers of Georgia and South Carolina formed almost one-half the Jewish population of the thirteen colonies, during and after the Revolutionary War.

There are said to have been scattered Jews in South Carolina almost from the very founding of the colony. The land comprising South Carolina was donated to a group of nobles by the English crown in 1663, and six years later, under the constitution drawn up by the English philosopher, John Locke, religious freedom was granted to all settlers including Jews, dissenters, and heathens. Every one over seventeen was obliged to belong to some religious congregation but no religious persecution was allowed.

By the end of the seventeenth century there lived in Charleston, South Carolina, a Jew by the name of Solomon Valentine. He must have been followed by others, for in 1702 the good people raised a protest against "Jew-strangers" voting in the assembly elections.

Charleston received its greatest accession of Jewish settlers in 1740-41, when many of the colonists of Savannah left that

¹⁰ There are still descendants of these early Jewish settlers living in Georgia, and they are numbered among the aristocrats and bluebloods of the South.

province and settled in Charleston. Ten years later the congregation Beth Elohim established its first synagogue in a small wooden building on Union Street. Joseph Tobias, who had been naturalized in 1741, was president of the congregation, and Moses Cohen was its first Rabbi. Soon a Hebrew Benevolent Society was established; the synagogue moved its quarters to a building on King Street;¹¹ the Jewish tree took root and flourished.

The two most prominent Jews in the colony were Moses Lindo and Francis Salvador. Lindo arrived from England in 1756, and went into the manufacture of indigo and other dyes. He was later appointed surveyor and inspector-general of indigo, drugs, and dyes for the province, and undertook experiments with American dyes as early as 1757. He promoted the dye industry into South Carolina and made it one of the principal industries in the South.

Francis Salvador was the most prominent Jew in South Carolina at the time of the Revolution. He had a romantic career. His father-in-law, who was one of the three richest Jews in England, owned immense tracts of land in South Carolina. One day, the Salvador family awoke to the distressing fact that most of its money had been lost in the Lisbon earthquake and the failure of the Dutch West India Company; and that all that remained of its property were the God-forsaken tracts of land in the South Carolinian wilderness. Whereupon, our young hero, Francis Salvador, set out for the New World to retrieve his fortunes. He had many adventures, too long here to relate. Suffice it to say, however, his youth and spirit stood him in good stead. He had been in the colony no more than a year when he was elected a member of the General Assembly. He aided Charles Pickney and Edward Rutledge, South Carolina Revolutionary leaders, and was a member of the first and second provincial congresses. He met his death on August 1, 1776 while leading an expedition against the Indians who had been stirred up by "fire-water" and the British.

¹¹ This was in 1757. Another move took place in 1764.

Little remains to be said for the Carolinas. There were few Jews in North Carolina ¹² prior to the Revolution, due to the fact that it was less liberal, politically, than its southern neighbor. Charleston, on the other hand, was rapidly becoming a city of importance and was, for a time, after the Revolution, the center of Jewish life in America.¹³

THE JEW IN VIRGINIA AND MARYLAND

Virginia did not attract the Jews before the Revolution, for it had neither large cities nor a merchant class. It was a rural, agricultural state, with its whole power centered in its land-owners. To make matters worse, the colony had an established church—an institution never calculated to foster religious toleration. All in all, the Jew was better off in Charleston or Newport, and it was not until the Revolution had its liberalizing effects upon Virginia society, that Jews flocked there in any considerable numbers. . . .

In 1621 the good ship "Abigail" brought Elias Legardo—the first Jewish settler—to Virginia. Others must have followed him, for several Jewish names are mentioned in a muster of inhabitants in 1633—thus making Virginia the scene of the first Jewish settlement in North America. In 1652, John Levy received a grant of two-hundred acres; David Da Costa was a tobacco importer around 1658; Colonel Levy was one of the leaders of the insurrection in the Carolinas in 1711; and David and Michael Franks served under Washington in Virginia during the French and Indian War. In 1755 a number of secret Jews left Lisbon for Virginia but their ship drifted into Narragansett Bay and they settled in Newport, Rhode Island. All in all, the Jews played a very minor rôle in Virginia, due mainly to the fact that their numbers were so small.

¹² The Carolinas were divided into North and South in 1729 when the land became a royal province.

¹³ The growth of Charleston was very rapid after the Revolution due to the influx of a large number of New York Jews.

Now, if Virginia was barren soil for the Jewish seed, Maryland was worse. The Jew was denied freedom of residence in the colony, and was liable to imprisonment and death for professing his faith. Soon after his arrival in Maryland from Lisbon, in 1656, Jacob Lumbroso, physician and merchant, was arrested and tried for blasphemy. The only thing that saved him from long imprisonment or death for being a Jew was the general amnesty proclaimed at the accession of Richard Cromwell in England in 1658.¹⁴

In 1723 the broad-minded lawmakers of Maryland passed an act which bore a reminiscent stench of the Inquisition: "If any person"—so ran the act—"shall hereafter within this province deny our Savior, Jesus Christ, to be the true Son of God, or shall deny the Holy Trinity, he should for the first offense be fined and have his tongue bored, and . . . for the third offense be put to death."

Maryland was certainly no place for a Jew, and as a matter of fact there were very few of them there before the Revolution. But gradually, as the good citizens came to realize that Jews were not really as bad as they had imagined them to be, the noose was loosened. By 1776 the Jews had won religious freedom, although political rights were still denied them.

Jews drifted into Maryland during and after the Revolution. A number came to Baltimore.¹⁵ Slowly, slowly their numbers grew. . . .

¹⁴ Lumbroso was later granted the right to own land, and bought himself a plantation. He died early in the year 1666.

¹⁵ The first Jewish settler in Baltimore was Jacob Meyer, an innkeeper, in 1758, and during the Revolution more Jews came to the city.

CHAPTER SIX

THE END OF THE SEPHARDIC ERA

THE JEWS IN THE REVOLUTION

ALTHOUGH the Jew is by nature not a fighter nor a bearer of arms, but a lover of peace and security and the ordinary pursuits of life, yet the War for Independence stirred him deeply. As early as the French and Indian War in 1754, Isaac Myers, a Jewish citizen of New York, called a town meeting at the "Rising Sun" inn, and organized a company of bateau men, of which he himself became captain. At least two other Jews fought in this war, both of whom served in the expedition across the Alleghany mountains. In 1755, when the colonists were agitated by the disastrous ending of the Braddock campaign, and the movement towards a federation of the colonies, Benjamin Cohen, a member of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, and attorney general of the colony, took a leading part in hastening on the war.

Nine Jews were among the signers of the Non-Importations Resolutions of 1765—the first real step towards the goal of independence¹—and six put their names to the more stringent agreement of 1770.² As most of their trade was carried on with England or her possessions, it was nothing short of commercial suicide for these Jewish merchants to antagonize the British authorities in this way. But something had to be done. The obnoxious Stamp Act had been a slap in the face. Besides, the English had to be brought to terms on the matter of taxa-

¹ The original document, still preserved, contains the following Jewish names among the early roll of patriots: Benjamin Levy, Samson Levy, Hyman Levy, Jr., Joseph Jacobs, David Franks, Mathias Bush, Michael Gratz, Barnard Gratz, and Moses Mordecai.

² This agreement included the names of the following Jews: Samuel Judah, Hyman Levy, Jacob Moses, Jacob Myers, Jonas Phillips, and Isaac Seixas—all New York Jews.

tion. If the Non-Importation agreement of 1770 failed to do it, war was inevitable. The Jews, almost to a man, cast their lot with the colonists. . . .

About fifty Jews, as far as we know, served in the War for Independence. Twenty-four were officers in the Continental army.³ Four reached the rank of lieutenant-colonel, three became majors, and there were at least half a dozen Jewish captains.

In the forefront of the Revolutionary fighters were the members of the Franks family. These Franks, who had come to America as financial representatives of the English government, were among the leaders of Colonial Jewry, and well established as merchants and traders.

One of the most hot-blooded of the Franks' clan was young David Salisbury Franks, who had settled in Montreal in 1774 as a merchant. One day, early in May, 1775, he was arrested for speaking disrespectfully of the King, and was held on \$50,000 bail. To teach the young man a lesson the authorities kept him under lock for several days and then let him free.

In 1776 when the Colonial troops occupied Montreal, David was appointed paymaster of the American garrison, and when the Colonists retreated from Canada, he enlisted as a volunteer, and later served in a Massachusetts regiment. He fought under Count D'Estaing, Commander of the Colonial sea-forces, in 1778, and upon the failure of the expedition went to Philadelphia and joined the staff of Benedict Arnold. A year later, in 1779, he went as volunteer to Charleston where he served as aide-de-camp to General Lincoln, and later to Benedict Arnold, at the time of the latter's treason. As a matter of fact, Franks was at first suspected of having had a finger in the treasonous pie, but the suspicions were false and he was honorably acquitted the day after his arrest.⁴

³ This extraordinary high percentage of Jewish officers was due to the high social position and active intelligence of the Jews.

⁴ Not satisfied with his acquittal, Franks wrote to General George Washington asking for a court of inquiry. The court met in November of the same year at West Point and completely exonerated him.

Franks made his debut in international politics shortly after this, when Robert Morris, in 1781, sent him with important dispatches to John Jay, American representative in Madrid, and to Benjamin Franklin, agent of the Colonies in Paris. Three years later, in 1784, he was commissioned to deliver three copies of the peace treaty, which gave the Colonies their independence, to the American ministers in Europe. In the next year he was appointed vice-consul at Marseilles, and in 1786 took a hand in negotiating the treaty between the Colonies and Morocco. By this time he held the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, and in 1789 was granted four-hundred acres of land in Pennsylvania in recognition of his services during the Revolution.

David's cousin, Isaac Franks, fought from the time he was seventeen, when he enlisted in Colonel Leshner's crack regiment of New York volunteers.⁵ He fell into the enemy's hands at the capture of New York, but made his escape three months later. The next few years were packed with excitement. He was appointed to the quartermaster department in 1777; was made forage-master in 1778; served as ensign in the Seventh Massachusetts in 1781; was aide-de-camp to Washington during the war; and was appointed lieutenant-colonel in 1794. After the war he settled down in Germantown, Pennsylvania, where President Washington came to live with him during the yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia in 1793.

David Franks, the most prominent member of the celebrated family, was a Tory and a loyalist. He was born in New York in 1720, and settled in Philadelphia early in life. He was elected a member of the Provincial Assembly in 1748, supplied the army with provisions during the French and Indian War, aided in raising a fund for the colony in 1755, and was one of the signers of the Non-Importation Resolutions. During the Revolution he was an agent to the contractors for victualling the troops of Great Britain, and an intermediary in the exchange of prisoners. He was twice imprisoned as an enemy

⁵ He served with this regiment in the battle of Long Island.

of the Colonial cause, and in 1780 left for England altogether. He returned to the Colonies soon after the war was over, and settled in Philadelphia, where he died, in 1793, one of the leading and most respected citizens of the community.

So much for the Franks family. There were others.⁶ Solomon Bush, a native of Philadelphia, was appointed deputy-adjutant-general of the Pennsylvania militia in 1777,⁷ and was two years later promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Benjamin Nones, a native of Bordeaux, France, came to Philadelphia in 1777, where he joined at once the Colonial forces, and attained the rank of Major under General De Kalb. In the south, Mordecai Sheftall of Savannah, deputy-commissioner-general of issues to the Continental troops in Georgia during the period of British occupancy of the state, and commissioner-general of purchases and issues to the militia, put his entire salary at the disposal of the doctors in order that they might buy medicines for his wounded comrades. He also took part in the active fighting and was seriously wounded at the siege of Savannah.⁸

The Jews of Savannah were a patriotic lot. Of the six hundred inhabitants of South Carolina few were Tories, according to contemporary records. Manuel Mordecai of South Carolina served on Washington's staff (and also under General Marion) and gave his fortune of \$100,000 to finance the cause of independence. Nones, who also fought in Carolina, was Major of a legion in which there were a number of Jews. When Baron De Kalb was mortally wounded it was Major Nones and two other Jewish officers, Captain Jacob de la Motta and Captain Jacob de Leon, who carried him off the field. . . .

The real Jewish hero of the Revolution was an immigrant Polish Jew, named Haym Salomon. Although a native of Po-

⁶ Among the signers of the bills of credit for the Continental Congress in 1776 were: Benjamin Levy, Benjamin Jacobs, Samuel Lyon, Isaac Moses (who contributed \$15,000 to the Colonial treasury), and Herman Levy (who also advanced large sums for the support of the army).

⁷ He was seriously wounded that same year.

⁸ In 1783 Sheftall received a grant of land from the government in return for his services.

land, he had travelled widely and spoke several languages. He was a member of the Franks family through marriage,⁹ and became the most prominent Jewish figure of the Revolutionary period.

Salomon was born in Lissa, Poland, in 1740, and came to America in 1774. Soon after the capture of New York by the British, in September, 1776, he was arrested as an American spy, and thrown into a dark, foul prison called the Provost. When it was found that he could speak German, he was turned over to the Hessian General Heister, who appointed him to the Commissariat department. After secretly aiding a number of French prisoners to escape from the British lines, he took French-leave from the Hessians himself, and fled to Philadelphia.

Salomon had a shrewd head on his shoulders. He became a prominent exchange broker and had considerable business dealings with millionaire Robert Morris. In addition to his private affairs, he was broker to the French consul; treasurer of the French army that came to assist Washington; fiscal agent to Chevalier de la Luzerne, French minister to the United States, and financial agent for Holland and Spain. He was on intimate terms with all the Colonial political bosses, and supported many of the Revolutionary leaders with various sums of money.¹⁰ "I have for some time been a pensioner on the favor of Haym Salomon, a Jew broker," writes James Madison, on August 27, 1782. And at another time: "The kindness of our little friend on Front Street, near the Coffee House, is a fund which will preserve me from extremities, but I never resort to it without great mortification, as he obstinately rejects all recompense." James Wilson, a delegate to the Continental

⁹ His wife was Rachel Franks, daughter of Moses Franks.

¹⁰ Among the Revolutionary leaders who came to Salomon for money were: Edmund Randolph, Thomas Jefferson, Arthur Lee, General Steuben, Instructor-General of the Continental forces, St. Clair, first governor of the Northwest Territory, and even Robert Morris himself. "I sent for Salomon," writes Morris in his diary, "and desired him to try in every way to raise money, and I asked him to leave no stone unturned to find money and the means by which we can obtain it."

Congress, admitted that without Salomon's aid "administered with equal generosity and delicacy," he would have been forced to retire from public service.¹¹

Salomon was the financial link between the United States and Europe. He negotiated the war loans from France and Holland, and handled the funds of the French army that came to help the colonies. For several years he aided Don Francisco Rendon, the secret ambassador of Charles III of Spain, and won the latter's secret support for the cause of the American Revolution.

Haym Salomon died suddenly on January 6, 1785, at the age of forty-five, from a disease which he had contracted while confined on a British prison ship in the early part of the Revolutionary War. He left a widow and two infant children. The inventory of his estate showed that he had lent the government more than \$300,000. His wealth was practically all gone, and at his death the management of his estate passed into the hands of strangers.¹²

Salomon took an active part in Jewish communal affairs in Philadelphia. He was one of the original members of the Congregation Mickveh Israel, and treasurer of one of the earliest charitable organizations in the city. . . . He was the Jew behind the war.¹³

¹¹ The condition of many of the public men at this period was such that many would have gone to jail for debts had they not received private assistance. Robert Morris, himself, in 1805, became an inmate of a debtor's jail through losses he had sustained during the Revolution.

¹² All effort of his descendants to obtain recompense from the government were unsuccessful.

¹³ In April, 1931, Dr. Max J. Kohler, a leading authority in American Jewish history, published a pamphlet entitled, "Haym Salomon, the Patriot Broker of the Revolution, His Real Achievements and Their Exaggeration." In this pamphlet Dr. Kohler declared that though Salomon was a "self-sacrificing citizen of the country who rendered it valuable and important services in the times that tried men's souls, Haym Salomon neither lent nor claimed lending to the American Republic the large sums the alleged lending of which is the chief basis for his fame." Dr. Kohler stated further that the claims "rest on fabrication of evidence, fraudulent concealment and misrepresentation, of which a son, or the son's agents, was guilty, between 1827 and 1864." This pamphlet stirred up a great controversy in the Jewish press. It

HOW THE WAR AFFECTED THE JEWS IN NEWPORT

At the outbreak of the war for independence there were only about twenty-five hundred Jews among the nearly three million inhabitants of the thirteen colonies. Most of the Jews were in Newport (which had about 200 Jewish families), New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston. The majority of the Jewish settlers were well-to-do merchants, engaged in commerce with foreign countries, and in trade with the Indians. The Revolution had cut deep inroads into business and ruined many of the Jewish importers and exporters whose main trade was with England and her possessions.

One of the greatest Jewish tragedies of the American Revolution was the death-blow given to Newport, Rhode Island. Here had been the center of Judaism in America. Here Jews had prospered, had established their homes, had made a name for themselves. But with the first shot of the Revolution there came an end to all this. Its situation upon the ocean, once so favorable for commerce, now left Newport exposed to attacks from the enemy. The Jews left Newport. They went to Philadelphia, to Boston, to Charleston. Some left the country altogether.

England had a special grudge against Newport. An armed vessel of war that had come to exact an arduous tax, had been burnt by the indignant and spirited citizens of the town. The English attacked Newport with vengeance. Eight thousand British and Hessian troops swarmed into the town, set fire to it, cut down the groves and orchards and pillaged the library, —then the finest in America. The blow fell upon the Jews with crushing effect. Aaron Lopez,¹⁴ the leading merchant in

followed the publication of a biography of Haym Salomon by Charles Edward Russell. The Federation of Polish Jews, however, decided to continue their efforts to have a monument erected to Salomon, their fellow countryman.

¹⁴ When the British army marched into Newport, and occupied the town, Aaron Lopez retired with his family to Leicester, Massachusetts. One day, when the struggle was nearly over, he set out intending to

Newport, was a heavy sufferer. His vessels had been seized and destroyed upon the high seas. The Jewish congregation was dispersed. The synagogue, one of the earliest in North America, was closed; and Rabbi Isaac Touro went with his family to Jamaica. When the struggle drew to a close, most of the Jewish residents had already left Newport, impoverished by the loss of their property. They sought other places in which to retrieve their shattered fortunes, and never returned.¹⁵

The services at the Newport synagogue were continued until about 1790. But by this time the superior advantages of New York as a commercial center and seaport became clearly apparent; and as New York rose in commercial importance, Newport declined.

AFTER THE REVOLUTION

The destruction of the Jewish community at Newport, while it proved the ruin of a considerable number of Jewish merchants, was by no means a fatal, or even a serious blow to early Judaism in America. When the redcoats marched into Newport and New York, the Jews fled to Philadelphia, where they built up one of the leading congregations in the United States.

Philadelphia, profiting by the misfortunes of the other Jewish communities, grew rapidly. The little building in Sterling Alley, where the Congregation Mickveh Israel held its services, soon became too small to hold the growing numbers. Larger quarters were needed, and a three-story brick house was rented

return to Newport and start his business over again. While on the way there he drove his carriage to the side of a pond to water his horses. Ten minutes later, horse, vehicle and passenger were hopelessly lost in a treacherous bed of quicksand. His body was later found and buried in the Jewish cemetery in Newport.

¹⁵ Although the great majority of the Jewish residents of Newport were on the side of the colonists there were a few who still remained loyal to England, for many of them had lived in England before coming to this country, and had friends and relatives there. One of the most prominent of the Jewish Tories was the eminent merchant, Isaac Hart, who lost his life at the hands of the Continental soldiers.

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in Cherry Alley, between Third and Fourth Streets. But before long, even this place became too small, and now there was nothing left to do but to build a synagogue which would be large enough to hold all the worshippers. A lot was bought on Cherry Street, west of Third Street, and building was put up, which was dedicated with great ceremony on September 13, 1782, by Rabbi Seixas, who had been hired as the first regular rabbi.

The congregation Mickveh Israel of Philadelphia had 102 members at the time of the opening of the synagogue. A great many of them were Ashkenazim, that is, German or Polish Jews. But after the Revolution the congregation was greatly weakened. Many of its members returned to New York. In 1788 the congregation found itself in serious financial difficulties. The synagogue was not yet paid for and the treasury was empty. An appeal was made for funds which received the support of even a number of non-Jews, including Benjamin Franklin, who donated five pounds, and David Rittenhouse, the astronomer. The contributions, however, proved insufficient for the needs of the struggling congregation, and in 1790 the congregation was given permission by the Pennsylvania State Assembly to raise eight hundred pounds through a lottery.¹⁶

The Sephardim and the Ashkenazim failed to get along together. The Sephardim considered themselves socially superior to the Ashkenazim, and the latter, resenting the snobbishness of the Portuguese members, seceded in 1802 and organized their own congregation—the Rodeph Shalom—the earliest German Jewish congregation in America. In 1813 the congregation organized a society for the Visitation of the Sick, with Jacob Cohen as president. . . .

Meanwhile, in New York, at about the same time that the Jews of Newport were fleeing for safety, and only a month after the colonists had declared their independence from England,

¹⁶ The managers of the lottery were Manuel Josephson, Solomon Lyon, Solomon Hays, Solomon Etting, William Wistar, and John Duffield. The last two were non-Jews.

a British fleet appeared in the harbor. At the sight of this fleet, its sails gleaming in the August sunlight, the Jews flocked to the synagogue seeking guidance in the crisis which faced them. Here, in the historic edifice on Mill Street, the youthful rabbi, Gershom Seixas, delivered an impassioned farewell sermon, declaring to his congregation that he would not conduct services in New York as long as the British occupied the city. This caused a great stir among the members, and led ultimately to a split in the ranks of the congregation. After personally superintending the closing of the synagogue, Seixas left New York for Stratford, Connecticut, taking with him the scrolls of the law and the articles of ceremony belonging to the congregation. In 1780 he went to Philadelphia, whither many of the patriotic New York Jews had fled. There still remained in New York, during the war, a sprinkling of Jews who held services in the synagogue during British occupancy. The synagogue was at this time under the presidency of Lyon Jonas, a wealthy Tory, and later under that of Alexander Zuntz, a Hessian officer.

When the Spanish-Portuguese congregation of New York was reorganized in 1784, Hyman Levy succeeded Zuntz as president. The war was over. America had won her independence. The congregation presented an address of congratulation to Governor Clinton of New York on the outcome of the war. Rabbi Seixas, who had returned to New York at the end of the war, was one of the fourteen ministers of all sects who participated in the inauguration of Washington as president on April 30, 1789, in New York. More than that, he was one of the first ministers of any denomination to preach a regular Thanksgiving sermon and conduct appropriate services on Thanksgiving Day. The Daily Gazette of New York remarked that this was the first sermon of its kind preached in the state, and was "highly deserving the attention of every pious reader whether Jew or Christian."

Rabbi Seixas was liberal and broad in his views. He preached on subjects of general interest, and was always ready

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to raise money for civic and public purposes. He instituted a recital of a prayer for the government in English, insisting that the congregation could not tolerate the use of any tongues but the sublime one of Israel and that of their adopted country. He was one of the founders of Columbia College and a trustee from 1787—the year of incorporation—to 1815. He preached, on more than one occasion, in Episcopal Churches, and invited Christian ministers to attend services in his synagogue. He did more perhaps than any other man to help create good will and understanding between the Jews and Christians of New York.¹⁷

When the last shot of the Revolution was fired, New York could boast of about four hundred Jews. For a while the Jewish settlement grew slowly. A burial society called the Hebrah Gemiluth Hasodim was organized in 1785. The Hebrah Hesed Va Ameth came into being seventeen years later. It helped the sick and poor and laid the dead under ground. In 1812, thanks to the bequest of Meyer Polonies, the Polonies Talmud Torah was founded.

The Jews in New York were well off. Quite a number of them had substantial bank accounts and property holdings. Among a list of New Yorkers in 1799 whose residences were assessed at 2,000 pounds or more were the names of Benjamin Seixas, Solomon Sampson, Alexander Zuntz, and Ephraim Hart. Hayman Levy, who amassed a great fortune in the fur trade, was one of the wealthiest Jewish merchants in New York during this period. In his employ at one time were two lads who later became eminent in the history of New York. One was John Jacob Astor, founder of the house of Astor; the other was Nicholas Low, in later years a celebrated merchant, and the ancestor of Seth Low, Mayor of New York.

¹⁷ One of his brothers, Benjamin Seixas, was one of the founders of the New York Stock Exchange. Another brother, Abraham, was lieutenant in the Continental Army, and later a magistrate in Charleston, S. C.; while the oldest brother, Moses, was one of the founders of the Bank of Rhode Island, in Newport, and the first grand master of Masons in Rhode Island.

WASHINGTON AND THE JEWS

When Washington became president of the United States, the Jews were among the first to congratulate him. He got letters from the Jewish congregations in Newport, New York, Philadelphia, Savannah, Richmond, and Charleston. When he visited Newport in the fall of 1790 he was formally addressed by Moses Seixas on behalf of the Newport Jews. "Sir," wrote Seixas to Washington, "permit the Children of the Stock of Abraham to approach you with the most cordial affection and esteem for your person and merit and to join our fellow citizens in welcoming you to Newport.

"With pleasure we reflect on those days of difficulty and danger when the God of Israel, who delivered David from the peril of the sword, shielded your head in the day of battle and we rejoice to think that the same spirit which rested in the bosom of the great and beloved Daniel enabling him to preside over the provinces of the Babylonian Empire rests and ever will rest upon you enabling you to discharge the arduous duties of chief magistrate of these states.

"Deprived as we have hitherto been of invaluable rights of free citizens we now with a deep sense of gratitude to the Almighty disposer of all events—behold a government erected by the majesty of the people, a government which gives no sanction to bigotry and no assistance to persecution, but generously affording to all liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship, deeming everyone of whatever nation, tongue or language, equal parts of the great governmental machine. This so ample and extensive federal union, whose base is philanthropy, mutual confidence and public virtue, we cannot but acknowledge to be the work of the great God who rules the armies of the heavens and among the inhabitants of the earth, doing whatever deem it to Him good.

"For all the blessings of civil and religious liberty which we enjoy under an equal and benign administration, we desire to

send up thanks to the Ancient of Days, the great Preserver of men, beseeching him that the angel who conducted our forefathers through the wilderness into the Promised Land, may graciously conduct you through all the difficulties and dangers of this mortal life; and when, like Joshua, full of days and honors, you are gathered to your fathers, may you be admitted into the heavenly paradise to partake of the waters of life and the tree of immortality."

To this letter Washington replied as follows:

"To the Hebrew Congregation of Newport, Rhode Island:

"GENTLEMEN:

"While I have received with much satisfaction your address, replete with expressions of esteem, I rejoice in the opportunity of assuring you that I shall always retain a grateful remembrance of the cordial welcome I experienced on my visit to Newport from all classes of citizens.

"The reflection on the days of difficulty and danger, which are past, is rendered the more sweet from the consciousness that they are succeeded by days of uncommon prosperity and security. If we have the wisdom to make the best use of the advantage with which we are now favored, we cannot fail under the just administration of a good government to become a great and happy people.

"The citizens of the United States of America have the right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy worthy of imitation. All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of as if it were by the indulgence of one class of people that another enjoys the exercise of their inherent natural rights, for happily the government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.

"It would be inconsistent with the frankness of my

character: not to avow that I am pleased with your favorable opinion of my administration and fervent wishes of my felicity.

"May the children of the stock of Abraham, who dwell in this land, continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other inhabitants, while everyone shall sit in safety under his own vine and fig tree and there shall be none to make him afraid. May the Father of all mercies scatter light and not darkness in our paths and make us all in our several vocations useful here and, in His own due time and way, everlastingly happy.

"G. WASHINGTON."

Washington wrote two other letters to Jewish communities. One was written in reply to a letter signed by Levi Sheftall, president of the Savannah congregation, and ran as follows:

"To the Hebrew Congregation of the City of Savannah, Georgia:

"GENTLEMEN:

"I thank you with great sincerity for your congratulations on my appointment to the office which I have the honor to hold by the unanimous choice of my fellow citizens and especially the expressions you are pleased to use in testifying the confidence that is reposed in me by your congregation.

"As the delay which has naturally intervened between my election and the address has afforded me an opportunity for appreciating the merits of the federal government and for communicating your sentiments of its administration, I have rather to express my satisfaction rather than regret that a circumstance which demonstrates (upon experiment) your attachment to the former as well as approbation of the latter.

"I rejoice that a spirit of liberality and philanthropy is much more prevalent than it formerly was among the enlightened nations of the earth, and that your brethren will benefit thereby in proportion as it will become still

more extensive; happily the people of the United States have in many instances exhibited examples worthy of imitation, the salutary influence of which will doubtless extend much further if gratefully enjoying those blessings of peace which (under the favor of heaven) have been attained by fortitude in war, they shall conduct themselves with reverence to the Deity and charity towards their fellow creatures.

"May the same wonder-working Deity, who long since delivered the Hebrews from their Egyptian oppressors, planted them in a promised land, whose providential agency has lately been conspicuous in establishing these United States as an independent nation, still continue to water them with the dews of heaven and make the inhabitants of every denomination participate in the temporal and spiritual blessings of that people whose God is Jehovah.

"G. WASHINGTON."

The second letter was sent in reply to an address by the Hebrew congregations of Philadelphia, New York, Richmond, and Charleston. Washington wrote as follows:

"GENTLEMEN:

"The liberality of sentiment towards each other, which marks every political and religious denomination of men in this country, stands unparalleled in the history of nations.

"The affection of such a people is a treasure beyond the reach of calculation, and the repeated proofs which my fellow citizens have given of their attachment to me and approbation of my doings form the purest sources of my temporal felicity.

"The affectionate expressions of your address again excite my gratitude and receive my acknowledgment.

"The power and goodness of the Almighty, so strongly manifested in the events of our late glorious revolution, and His kind interposition in our behalf, have been no

less visible in the establishment of our present equal government. In war, He directed the sword and in peace He has ruled in our councils. My agency in both has been guided by the best intentions and a sense of duty I owe to my country.

"And as my intentions have hitherto been amply rewarded by the approbation of my fellow citizens I shall endeavor to deserve a continuance of it by my future conduct.

"May the same temporal and eternal blessing which you implore for me rest upon your congregations.

"G. WASHINGTON."

THE HEBREW ORIGINS OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT

Despite the fact that the Jew as an individual was, for a long time, despised in America, Judaism itself was one of the most important factors in the formation and development of American government and democracy. American democracy found its teacher and preceptor not in the Christian European state of the eighteenth century, but in the ancient Hebrew Commonwealth.¹⁸

When it came time for the lawmakers to lay the foundations of our country they went to the Old Testament for instruction and guidance. They read of the Old Hebrew Commonwealth—the government of the Hebrews under the Judges—and sought to transplant this ancient Hebrew government onto American soil.

The Hebrew Commonwealth was composed of three parts: an elective magistrate who was called the Judge; a council of seventy elders known as the Sanhedrin; and the general assem-

¹⁸ "If the United States has become Republican, it is due to the fact that the Hebrew Commonwealth presented . . . the model of a Democratic republic." . . . Oscar Straus, "Origin of the Republican Form of Government."

bly of the people. This corresponded to the three parts of the American government; the president, congress, and the supreme court.

In 1637-38, when the exiles of Massachusetts founded the colonies of Newport and Portsmouth, they chose a certain Mr. Coddington to be their magistrate, and gave him the title Judge "in imitation of the form of government which existed for a time among the Jews." A few months later three elders were elected to assist him.

The first form of American government was, in all its essential respects, modeled expressly after the one set up by the Jews under their great law-giver, Moses. This American theocracy lasted forty-one years, from 1643 to 1684, and was the basis for the later confederacy of the thirteen states.

Judaism and the Old Testament were of tremendous importance not only in the development of the government, but in the life and thought of the people as well. The settlers of New England lived close to the word of the Book. The Bible was their guide in religion and their textbook in politics. They studied the Old Testament and applied its teachings with a thoroughness equalled only by the Jews and perhaps the Scotch. They saw a striking similarity between their own hardships and history and those of the children of Israel under Moses and Joshua. They characterized their condition as the "Egyptian Bondage." James I they called "Pharaoh." They spoke of the ocean and its dangers as the "Red Sea." America was their "Wilderness" and Washington and Adams were frequently referred to as their Moses and Joshua.

The Puritans evidenced a greater preference for the Old Testament than for the New. They adopted the Mosaic Law almost in its entirety. They baptized their children no longer by the names of Christian saints, but by those of the Hebrew prophets and patriarchs. Such names as Benjamin, David, Jonathan, Daniel, Aaron, Joshua, and Israel were popular names for boys; while many a female offspring bore the name of Rachel, Rebecca, or Esther. The great divine, Increase

Mather, was so named because his parents were of the opinion that God had caused a great "increase" in the weal of the colonists. In Hebraic fashion they called America the New Canaan and the New Zion.

They adopted not only the spirit but the very letter of the Old Testament. No man in colonial days could consider himself cultured unless he had a good knowledge of Hebrew. So strong was the sentiment for Hebrew that many seriously urged, after the break with England, that Hebrew be substituted for English as the language of the country. Hebrew was taught in the colleges and was understood by the ministers. It was the sacred language.

The Puritans, like the Jews, began the observance of their Sabbath and holy-days at sundown of the preceding day. No cooking was allowed on the Sabbath, nor work of any kind. In the churches the sexes were separated, just as in the synagogues.

The colonists learned of Judaism from their pastors. Revolutionary America, it should be remembered, was almost illiterate. Very few people could either read or write. Education was limited. The public school system had not yet been developed. The small private academy, developed more or less along English lines, was a thoroughly snobbish institution, and no place for the children of the poor. The printing-press had not yet been harnessed to power. The first circulation manager had not yet been born. Young America got its education not from the written word but from the spoken. It got it principally from the pulpit.

Revolutionary America went to church for its learning. The church served as the public school, the community newspaper, the center of political and religious discussion. Sermons concerned themselves with politics as well as miracles; and these sermons were the main sources of general instruction for the majority of people. Adult education in America had its beginnings in the House of God. Here the colonists learned of Jewish history, of the prophets, of the great men of Israel.

Their minds were prepared for democracy, and filled with a great longing for a government which would resemble the Hebrew Commonwealth.

Puritanism was the Protestant renaissance of the Old Testament. Biblical precedence regulated the minutest details of everyday life. Justice was administered not by civil or common law, but according to the Pentateuch. Every section of the criminal code found its authority in specifically cited biblical chapter and verse. "It is at least an historical fact," writes the philosopher Lecky, "that in the great majority of instances the early Protestant defenders of civil liberty derived their political principles chiefly from the Old Testament and the defenders of despotism from the New."

For their political ideas and historical precedence the pastors went to the Bible. In the history of the Jews they found inspiration and example. They fought passionately against despotic monarchy. Europe, with its theory of the divine right of kings—a theory which acted as the main obstacle to the establishment of the early republic—was poison to them. They denounced the slavish doctrines of unlimited submission and unresistance as contrary to the true spirit and meaning of the Scriptures. They pictured the rise and fall of the Hebrew Commonwealth and read the warnings and admonitions of Samuel and the references made by the prophets to the wrongs and injustices of kings. The Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, one of the leading New England divines, declared in one of his speeches that "God gave Israel a king in His anger because they had not sense and virtue enough to like a free Commonwealth and to have Himself for their king. Where the spirit of the Lord is there is liberty."¹⁹

The Rev. Samuel Langdon, president of Harvard College, in an election sermon delivered before the "Hon. Congress of Massachusetts Bay," on May 31, 1775, took as his text the passage in Isaiah 1, 26: "And I will restore thy judges as at

¹⁹ From an oration on the "Repeal of the Stamp Act," delivered in Boston, May 23, 1776.

first," and spoke in this fashion: "The Jewish government, according to the original constitution which was divinely established, if considered only in a civil way, was a perfect republic. And let them who cry up the divine right of kings consider, that the form of government which had a proper claim to a divine establishment, was so far from including the idea of a king, that it was a high crime for Israel to ask to be in this respect like other nations, and when they were thus gratified, it was rather as a just punishment for their folly. . . . The civil policy of Israel is doubtless an excellent ground model . . . at least some principal laws and orders of it may be copied in more modern establishments."

Dr. Ezra Stiles, president of Yale University, declared before the Assembly of Connecticut, on May 8, 1783, that the states were "God's American Israel" and that the culmination of popular government had been reached in America in fulfillment of biblical prophecy handed down from the days of Moses.²⁰

The Rev. George Duffield, minister of the Third Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia, in a discourse delivered on May 17, 1776, drew a parallel between George III and Pharaoh and inferred that the same Providence which had rescued the Israelites from Egyptian bondage intended to free the colonies. Another noted clergyman, Dr. Henry M. Field, writing a century later, says: "Perhaps it does not often occur to readers of the Old Testament that there is much likeness between the Hebrew Commonwealth and the American Republic. . . . At the bottom there is one radical principle that divides a republic from a monarchy or an aristocracy, and that is the natural equality of men . . . which is fully recognized in the law of Moses as in the Declaration of Independence."

²⁰ Referring to the success of the armies under Washington, the Rev. Stiles said: "Whereupon Congress put at the head of the spirited army the only man on whom the eyes of all Israel (America) were placed. Posterity . . . will yet acknowledge that this American Joshua was raised up by God for the great work of leading armies of this American Joseph now separated from his brethren and conducting these people to liberty and independence."

Into the deep, rich soil of Judaism go the roots of American life and government, reaching down until they identify themselves and become one with the law of Moses and the wisdom of the prophets.

THE FIGHT FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM

One of the great causes of the Revolution was the desire for religious freedom. It was for this that the Puritans and Pilgrim fathers had fled from England. Therefore, they fought like mad against any threat on the part of England to create an Established Church in the colonies. They knew perfectly well why the English Parliament passed the "Quebec Act" in 1774, guaranteeing the Catholic Church in Canada its vast properties and freedom of worship. They knew it was done to prevent Canada from joining the thirteen colonies in their revolt against England. It rankled the colonists almost as much as the "Boston Port Bill," and made them more desirous than ever of securing their independence.

When the Constitution of the United States was drawn up, church and state were separated, largely because of the great and insurmountable differences in the religious beliefs among the various parties to the confederation. No two colonies had precisely the same beliefs. There were the Puritans in Massachusetts; the Baptists in Rhode Island; the Congregationalists in Connecticut; the Dutch and Swedish Protestants in New Jersey; the Church of England in New York; the Quakers in Pennsylvania; the Baptists, Methodists and Presbyterians in North Carolina; the Catholics in Maryland; the Cavaliers in Virginia; the Huguenots and Episcopalians in South Carolina; and the Methodists in Georgia. It was plainly foreseen that politics had to be separated from religion if there was to be a Federal Union. When the fundamental law of the land was adopted there were no exciting debates about the question of religious liberty. The clause abolishing religious tests in the

Federal Constitution was passed almost unanimously, North Carolina being the only state to vote against it.²¹

The new libertarian theories of the French encyclopedists, as adopted by Thomas Jefferson, was in a measure responsible for the separation of church and state in America. According to Article VI, section 3, of the Constitution, "No religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States." This clause was opposed by Massachusetts as being too liberal, and by Virginia and Rhode Island as not being liberal enough. Virginia had two years before this overthrown her state church and given complete freedom of conscience—not toleration—to her people. The opposition even to toleration was becoming crystallized in the works of Thomas Paine, the apostle of liberty and philosopher of the Revolution. "Toleration," he wrote, "is not the opposite of tolerance; but the counterfeit of it. Both are despotisms; the one assumes the right of withholding liberty of conscience, the other of granting it." So the first amendment to the Constitution, adopted immediately afterward by motion of the First Congress and the required two-thirds vote of the states, read as follows: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The United States became the first nation in the world to grant complete religious liberty, and its laws the models for those promulgated in France after the French Revolution.

It now remained for each state, being its own sovereign, to settle the matter of religious liberty within its own borders.²² Virginia began to consider the question of religious liberty as

²¹ As there were hardly any Jews in North Carolina at the time, the illiberal stand taken by the representatives of the state was due entirely to their fear of the Roman Catholics. When the state convention of North Carolina convened to adopt the Federal Constitution in July, 1788, pamphlets were circulated "pointing out the danger of the Pope being elected president should the constitution be adopted."

²² The basic institutions of the state were not directly changed by the Revolution, and in some states were not changed at all. In some instances, the Royal Charters remained, with some alterations, as state constitutions.

early as 1776, when a new constitution for the commonwealth was drafted. The Declaration of Rights, reported by a committee of which Colonel Mason was chairman, contained a clause which provided that all men should enjoy the fullest toleration in the exercise of religion.²³ Madison strongly opposed the use of the word toleration, which recognized liberty of worship not as a right, but as a favor granted to dissenting denominations. At his insistence the provision was amended to read: "All men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience."

In Virginia the state and church were united. The official faith was the Church of England, annual assessments were levied in favor of the Episcopal Church, and parents were compelled on pain of death to baptize and raise their children in the Episcopal faith. The annual assessments for the church were suspended in 1776, and three years later Jefferson succeeded in entirely defeating the grant. In the same year he introduced a measure entitled "A bill for establishing religious freedom," which after two readings was sent throughout the state to secure the opinion of the people before taking final action at the next legislature. Several years went by, however, without anything definite being done about it. Various measures were suggested in 1774 looking towards the establishment of Christianity in Virginia rather than any single sect, the theory being that while there should be no actual persecution of non-Christian sects, the state should nevertheless establish Christianity as the religion of the great majority of the people.

Patrick Henry was a man of Christian spirit. In a resolution drafted by him on November 11, 1784, and reported in the lower house of the legislature, he contended that the people of the commonwealth ought to pay a moderate tax for the support of the Christian religion, or of some Christian church denomination or communion. In spite of Madison's opposition

²³ The authorship of this clause is attributed to Patrick Henry.

the resolution was adopted and a special committee, of which Patrick Henry was chairman, was appointed to draft the bill.

Arguments, bills, speeches flew thick and fast in the legislature of Virginia. A bill "establishing a provision for teachers of the Christian religion" was brought in December 23, 1784. Copies of the bill were distributed throughout the state and a hot fight was on. Madison saw red. He prepared a "memorial and remonstrance" against the bill which was circulated widely. When the legislature met in October, 1785, the bill was almost buried by the protests and objections of the various counties. This was the cue for Jefferson to step in. The great lover of liberty drafted a statute which proclaimed it "to be a natural right of mankind that religious opinions shall never offset civil capacities, and that no man can be compelled to support any religious worship." The statute was adopted in 1786. The news of the victory spread to Europe, and in a letter dated December 16, 1786, Jefferson, who was then Minister to France wrote: "The Virginia act for religious freedom has been received with infinite approbation in Europe. . . . It is inserted in the new Encyclopedia, and is appearing in most of the publications respecting America. In fact, it is comfortable to see the standard of reason at length erected, after so many ages during which the human mind has been held in vassalage by kings, priests, and nobles; and it is honorable for us to have produced the first legislature who had the courage to declare that the reason of man may be trusted with the formation of his own opinions." The Jews of France were also keenly aware of what was going on with their co-religionists in America. In their petition for emancipation addressed to the National Assembly on January 29, 1790, they made mention of the fact that "America, to which politics will owe so many useful lessons, has rejected the word toleration from its code, as a term tending to compromise individual liberty and to sacrifice certain classes of men to other classes."

North Carolina, like Virginia, had an established church

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until a short time before the Revolution.²⁴ All citizens were taxed for the support of the church, and dissenting clergymen were denied even the privilege of performing the marriage ceremony. A bitter fight was waged between the Dissenters and the Established Church. The Dissenters won. But no sooner did they get the upper hand than they forgot all about religious freedom, and took a firm stand against the complete emancipation of Roman Catholics, Jews, and others not belonging to a Protestant denomination. In the state constitution of 1776 "no person who shall deny the being of God or the truth of the Protestant religion or the Divine Authority, either of the Old or the New Testament, or who shall hold religious principles incompatible with the freedom and safety of the state, shall be capable of holding any office or place of trust or profit in the civil department within the state." The provision, however, was regarded as a dead letter. In 1781 a Catholic was elected governor, and in 1809, a Jew, Jacob Henry, was elected to the legislature.

It was not until the Revolution had been fought and won that the disabilities under which the Jews had suffered in practically all the colonies were nearly all removed. Prejudice remained strongest in the colonies where the Jews were least known. In 1780 Massachusetts adopted the following declaration: "No subject shall be hurt, molested, or restrained in his person, liberty, or estate, for worshipping God in the manner and season most agreeable to the dictates of his own conscience." The Ordinance of 1787 insured religious freedom in the territory which is now the midwest of America. Maryland saw the light in 1825. It was not until that year, after a long and intensive agitation had been carried on, that the final disabilities against Jews holding office were removed.

²⁴ At the constitutional convention of 1787, the delegates of North Carolina voted against the clause abolishing religious tests.

THE END OF AN ERA

Spanish-Portuguese immigration to America began during the last decade of the 16th century and came to an end during the last decade of the 18th. For nearly two hundred years the history of the Jew in America was virtually the history of the Sephardic Jew in America. With the Revolution the Sephardic era in America comes to an end, and a new era begins.

Jewish life in America after the Revolution was not very exciting. Civil and religious liberty had already been won in most of the colonies. Jewish immigration was almost at a standstill. Nearly half a century was to pass before a new, fresh, vigorous stream of Judaism was to inundate the New World.

There were stirrings in Richmond towards the end of the 18th century. The Beth Shalom congregation was organized in 1790, and during the early years held services on Nineteenth Street in the rear of the Union Hotel. In 1791 Isaiah Isaacs deeded to the trustees of the synagogue a portion of his garden on Franklin Street for a Jewish burial ground. Jacob Cohen, one of the organizers of the congregation, was quite a figure in the community. He fought under Lincoln and Moultrie during the Revolution, and after the war settled in Richmond and became one of its most successful bankers and merchants. He was made a magistrate and member of the City Council of Richmond, and was a good friend of Madison, who spoke of him highly. The Jewish colony of Richmond reached its height about the middle of the nineteenth century.

The number of Jews in the remainder of the thirteen colonies, after the Revolution, was very small.²⁵ Jews traded in Delaware as early as 1655, but there was no Jewish com-

²⁵ After the Jews left Newport the synagogue closed down, and more than fifty years ran by before it was opened again. Moses Seixas and Moses Lopez were among the last Jewish settlers in Newport. Many of the Jews who had left Newport were brought back to be buried in the old cemetery made famous by Longfellow.

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munity in the state until about two hundred years later.²⁶ The colony of New Jersey, whose Indians, according to William Penn, closely resembled Jews, had very few Israelites in Colonial times. No Jews, as a matter of fact, were naturalized in New Jersey before the Revolution. There was a certain David Hays in Somerset County in 1744, and a Nathan Levy in Sussex county many years later. Asher Levy (or Lewis), a grandson of Asser Levy of New Amsterdam, was the only Jew from New Jersey on the Revolutionary army rolls. *The New Jersey Journal* was established by David Franks at Camden in 1778, and lasted four years. So much for New Jersey.

Not much more can be said for Georgia. In the year 1801, when Jefferson became President, a certain David Emanuel, a gentleman of Jewish descent, who had served previously as soldier, legislator, and judge, was inaugurated governor of that southern state.

There were hardly any Jews in any of the three new states which were admitted to the Union during Washington's administration.²⁷ Jews were slow in coming to Kentucky and Tennessee, and the nineteenth century drew almost to an end before Vermont could boast a Jewish congregation. Ohio, which was admitted in 1803, had very few Jews until the Germans came; while the immense territory of Louisiana, which was purchased from Napoleon in the same year, had none.²⁸

This closes the period of the Spanish-Portuguese immigration to America. There were probably not more than 3,000 Jews all told in the entire United States at the end of the eighteenth century. They were scattered from New England to Georgia, with the South claiming the greatest numbers.

The Spanish and Portuguese Jews were proud of their race,

²⁶ One Jewish family, that of David Bush, lived in Wilmington around 1784. This David Bush was the father of Major Louis Bush of Revolutionary fame.

²⁷ Vermont was admitted in 1791, Kentucky in 1792, and Tennessee in 1796.

²⁸ Jews, it seemed, never thrived in the French colonies in the New World, except in Martinique, where there had been a Jewish community since 1635.

their history, their religion. They were, on the whole, prosperous merchants, and much more cultured than their gentile neighbors. They were strictly orthodox in their religion and tried to inculcate orthodoxy in their children. They had succeeded in establishing six Jewish congregations in as many cities, and in planting the seed of Judaism in American soil.

Here and there were small numbers of German and Polish Jews. Revolutions in France and Germany were soon to let loose a new stream of Jewry to the United States. The work begun by the Jew from Spain and Portugal was to be carried on by the Jew from Bavaria and the Rhine.

A new era is to begin.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

THREE MEN OF ISRAEL

URIAH LEVY—THE JEWISH COMMODORE

It is the year 1812. Twenty-five years have passed since the establishment of the American government. How little the Jewish settlements have grown during these years! But it is not hard to understand. Many Jews left for England and Jamaica during and after the Revolution, especially those who were still loyal to the English government. Scores of others were lost to the Jewish community through baptism or intermarriage with the Christians. Besides, immigration from Europe was almost at a standstill. It was only after Napoleon went down to defeat, and dreams of freedom vanished in thin air, that immigration to the United States began in earnest. But now things were quiet. Of the 3,000 Jews in the United States, more than half lived in the South. Charleston, South Carolina, was at this time the Jewish center of America.

Forty Jews fought in the war. Thirteen were officers. Nathan Moses of Pennsylvania wore the stripes of colonel. Meyer Moses of South Carolina and Mordecai Myers fought as captains. Then there were three lieutenants, one adjutant, one ensign, two sergeants, three corporals, and twenty-seven privates.

One of the most colorful fighters in the war was Uriah Levy of Philadelphia. From boyhood on he was filled with a great longing for the sea. At eleven he was a cabin boy, and three years later, in 1806, he became apprenticed as a sailor. Four years passed.¹ In 1810, he became second mate of the brig "Polly and Betsy," and before he was twenty he was master and part owner of the schooner "George Washington."

¹ He attended for one year one of the naval schools in Philadelphia.

One day, in the year 1812, while taking a cruise on this vessel, a mutiny broke out. Levy was overpowered, his vessel was seized by the mutineers, and he was left penniless. Somehow or other, Levy managed to get back to the United States, raised some money, and set out to find the mutineers. In good time he found them, and brought them back to the United States to be hanged. Now he was ready for more serious work.

He did not have long to wait. The War of 1812 had by this time broken out, and Levy received his commission as sailing-master from the United States Navy. He was put on board the brig "Argus," bound for France and, on the way there, aided in the capture of several boats. Levy was given command of one of them, and mounting a cannon on her, proceeded to tackle the first ship flying the British flag. Unfortunately, the odds were overwhelmingly against him. His ship was captured, and he was taken to England prisoner of war. When he returned to the United States, after sixteen months of imprisonment, the war was already over. But the government had not forgotten his bravery. In 1817 Levy was promoted to the rank of lieutenant.

During the next forty years Levy battled constantly against an intense, vicious prejudice. He fought a duel, killed his opponent, and was court-martialed six times. His enemies celebrated when he was dropped from the list of captains, but their mouths turned when he was re-instated after a special Court of Inquiry in 1855. Nothing could stop him from now on, and he subsequently rose to the rank of commodore—then the highest rank in the navy.

Levy never denied his faith. When he was brought before the Court of Inquiry, he said: "My parents were Israelites, and I was nurtured in the faith of my ancestors. In deciding to adhere to it, I have but exercised a right guaranteed to me by the constitution of my state and the United States, a right given to all men by their Maker. But while claiming this right, I have ever accorded it to all men, and, as an officer of the

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navy, I have ever treated each and every one as a man and never as a partisan or sectarian."

Levy came of an old Philadelphia family, and was a charter member of the Washington Hebrew Congregation. He was a good friend of Andrew Jackson, and a profound admirer of Thomas Jefferson. He presented a statue of Jefferson to the government, and purchased "Monticello," the former's home.

Another Jew who distinguished himself as a sea-fighter in the War of 1812 was Captain John Ordorneaux, a French Jew, and a privateer from New York. He cruised the entire British coast and in one month took nine prizes, valued at more than \$3,000,000. He thought nothing of engaging a forty-four gunner with a seventeen gunner, and played hide-and-seek with seventeen British men-of-war. He was successful in both exploits. He captured the British frigate, "Endymion," carrying forty-four guns, and gave the seventeen enemy pursuers the laugh.

THIS MAN NOAH

It was during this period, in the first and second quarters of the nineteenth century, that one of the most fascinating characters in the history of American Israel rose to prominence. Mordecai Manuel Noah was a journalist and a diplomat, a judge and a visionary, a lawyer and a prophet. He was a Zionist before the word Zionism was coined, and a dreamer of the ghetto though his life had not been nurtured there.

Mordecai Manuel Noah was born at the close of the Revolution, on July 19, 1785, in Philadelphia. Four years later Washington became President and the thirteen states became one.

The Noah family traced its roots to Portuguese soil. Zipporah Phillips Noah, the mother of Mordecai, was a blue-blood, and the daughter of Robert Phillips, one of the most prominent patriots of the Revolutionary period. Her line went back to a distinguished family of Marranos who had fled from Lisbon to Portugal when the fires of the Inquisition got too

hot, and later emigrated to America. His father, a no less distinguished personage than his mother, served in Washington's army, and it is a family tradition that Washington himself was a guest at the wedding of Mordecai's parents.

Death struck twice at the family, in rapid succession, leaving Mordecai an orphan at the age of four. He was brought up by his grandfather, Jonas Phillips, who set him to work learning the carver's trade.

While Mordecai stood at the bench his mind went on great excursions. He thought of the great things he would do some day. Determined to get an education, he managed to attend school a few hours each day, and the evenings found him poring over books in the Franklin Library, in Philadelphia. He was of a studious nature, and learning came easily to him. Later he joined the Thespians and there met Edwin Forrest, who was later to become one of the most brilliant stars on the American stage.

Mordecai was a precocious youngster. At an early age he wrote a melodrama which he took to New York and sold for a number of books.

His studious habits and remarkable personality soon attracted the attention of Robert Morris, who saw to it that Noah did not remain long at the carver's bench. Having a great deal of influence he procured the cancellation of Noah's apprenticeship papers, and got him a job as clerk in the office of the auditor of the United States Treasury.

Mordecai held this position until he was fifteen. In 1800, when the national capital was moved to Washington, he resigned and got a job as a newspaper reporter, at the sessions of the Pennsylvania Legislature in Harrisburg. Here he gained his first experience in the field of journalism. Five years later he went to Charleston where he studied law and edited *The Charleston City Gazette*. He got into a lot of trouble with the respectable citizens of Charleston because of his revolutionary ideas. He was eager for a war with the British, fought duels, killed his opponent in one of them, and enjoyed himself

hugely. Noah did not give up the pen to wield the sword. In the midst of all the smoke and fury he found time to write and produce his first play "The Orphans of the Rhine." The play traveled to England, and back to New York in 1820, where it achieved a great success.

Noah wrote steadily, contributed to various periodicals, and was one of the shining literary lights of the period. He was called the best paragrapher of his day, and his editorials and short articles were extremely popular. He was gifted with a lively style and common sense. He wrote half a dozen or more plays including *The Fortress of Sorrento*, *The Grecian Captive*, *The Grand Canal*, *Marion, or the Hero of Lake George*, *O Yes, or the New Constitution*, *She Would Be a Soldier*, *The Siege of Tripoli*, *Paul and Alexis*.²

The first real opportunity to enter American politics came to Noah in 1811, when he was appointed American Consul to Russia by President Madison. He declined the post, however, because Russia was in a great turmoil at this time over the war with Napoleon. Two years later he was offered the post of American Consul to Tunis, and this time he accepted. It so happened that the crew of an American vessel had been seized by Algeria, then at war with America. Noah was instructed to negotiate for their release and ransom, and was given complete charge of affairs in the Mediterranean.

Noah set sail from Charleston in a vessel bound for France, but as luck would have it, a British fleet loomed up just off the French coast, captured the ship, and Noah was brought to England a prisoner of war. Being regarded as a person of importance, he was treated with consideration, and was allowed to remain at liberty upon parole. After some months he was released, and he proceeded through France and Spain to his post.

Noah set himself at once to the task of freeing the enslaved crew of the American vessel. The Algerians proved tough

²His published works include also a collection of essays called "Gleanings from a Gathered Harvest."

customers to deal with, and Noah was forced to pay five or six thousand dollars more than his government had agreed upon. When Noah's enemies in Washington heard of this they set up a great shout and succeeded in effecting his recall. One day, when the American Squadron was in Mediterranean waters, Noah was handed his notice of dismissal. He took the paper from the hands of his old schoolmate, Stephen Decatur, and read the message over and over until the words became jumbled and blurred. There was no mistake. There, plainly enough, was the signature of James Monroe,—then secretary of state. The terrible words of dismissal burned clear into his soul, and left him sick and sore at heart. The message read as follows:

“At the time of your appointment, as Consul at Tunis, it was not known that the religion which you profess would form any obstacle to the exercise of your consular functions. Recent information, however, on which entire reliance may be placed, proves that it would produce a very unfavorable effect. In consequence of which, the president has deemed it expedient to revoke your commission. On the receipt of this letter, therefore, you will consider yourself no longer in the public service. There are some circumstances, too, connected with your other accounts, which require more particular explanation, which, with that already given, are not approved by the President.”³

³ The receipt of this letter shocked Noah profoundly. He had been the leader of all the consuls in the Barbary States, and had even won the admiration and respect of the native rulers by his tact and diplomatic skill. An illustration of his diplomatic skill is shown in the following incident: The war between the United States and France was still raging, when one day an American privateer came into the harbor of Tunis with three English East India men loaded with valuable cargoes which it had captured. The prizes and cargoes were turned over to the U. S. Consul to sell at auction. The British Minister protested against such a sale on the ground of a clause in the treaty with England which provided that no Christian power should sell a British prize or its cargo in an Algerian port. Noah contended that under international law, the United States could not be held to be a Christian power within the meaning of the treaty, and hence excepted from this rule. To prove his contention he exhibited the Constitution of the United States with its provisions against sectarianism and religious tests, and finally cited the Joel Barlow treaty with Turkey of

Noah was subsequently vindicated, and on his return to America in 1816, he settled in New York, where he remained the rest of his life. He was editor successively of the *National Advocate*, *New York Enquirer*, *Evening Star*, *Commercial Advertiser*, *Union*, *New York Sun*, and *Times and Messenger*. He also found time to publish his *Travels in France, Spain and the Barbary States*, describing his experiences abroad.

Despite his unfortunate experience as Consul, Noah loved politics too well to give it up altogether. He was appointed High Sheriff of New York in 1822, and later, Surveyor of the Port of New York. But Noah's great fame rests not so much on his political exploits, or his literary accomplishments, as on his tremendous and exciting activity as a Jewish liberator and nationalist. We may forget Noah the statesman, Noah the writer, but never Noah the visionary, Noah the Jew. His vision was of Israel once more a nation, his dream was of a Jewish state in the Promised Land. His whole life was electrically charged with the hope of renationalizing the scattered and persecuted Jews of the world.

"We will return to Zion as we went forth," said Noah in 1824, three quarters of a century before the First Zionist Congress met in Basle, "bringing back the faith we carried with us. The Temple under Solomon which we built as Jews we must again erect as the chosen people. For two thousand years we have been pursued and persecuted, and we are yet here; assemblages of men have formed committees, built cities, established governments, and yet we are here. Rome conquered Greece and she was no longer Greece. Rome in turn became conquered, and there are but few traces now of the once mistress

1808 which declared that the United States made no objections to Mussulmen because of their religion and that they were entitled to and should receive all the privileges of the citizens of the most favored states. This argument was sustained by the Bey and the prizes were accordingly sold in Tunis. Noah's contention became established as a principle of international law which has never been challenged. It was perhaps this stand in declaring the United States non-Christian that may have prompted Noah's recall.

of the world; yet we are here like the fabled phoenix, ever springing from the ashes, or, more typically beautiful, like the bush of Moses, which ever burns, yet is never consumed."

Noah put dream to action. At three different times he advanced projects for the establishment of a Jewish state. His plan to establish a "refuge for the Jews" on Grand Island, near Buffalo, New York, came nearest to realization.

The year 1825 was an eventful one for the Niagara frontier. Three thrilling incidents occurred in the history of Buffalo: the visit of General Lafayette, the completion and opening of the Erie Canal, and the attempt to found a Jewish state.

Grand Island, which Noah purchased with the aid of some friends, was thirteen miles long, and five miles wide. It lay in the Niagara River, close to the Falls. Here was to be built the city of refuge where downtrodden Jews from all over the world were to be brought, and who, together with the North American Indians, whom Noah believed to be the descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel, were to form a great agricultural and industrial community. This was to be the beginning of the restoration of the Jewish people as a nation under the constitution and liberal government of the United States.

The plan was not altogether far-fetched. It had its practical aspects, and attracted considerable attention. The tract of land was chosen with an eye upon its commercial possibilities, being close to the Great Lakes, and directly opposite the newly constructed Erie Canal. In fact, Noah predicted it would "become in time the greatest trading and commercial depot in the new and better world."

The project received a lot of publicity through his own and other newspapers. Everybody spoke about it, and looked forward to the second of September when the cornerstone of the new city was to be laid.

There were many who thought him crazy.⁴ Wise Jews shook their heads. They were sorry, but they had no money

⁴ Even Heine made Noah the butt of a witty jest.

to throw away on a hopeless venture. Noah would have to do the best he could without them. Undaunted by their refusals, Noah went ahead with his preparations, aided only by his friend, A. G. Seixas. Late in the month of August, 1825, he set sail for the village of Buffalo, decked out in the robes and insignia of the ancient judges of Israel.

In good time he got to Buffalo, but finding that he could not conveniently get to Grand Island to locate and establish the city, it was decided to lay the cornerstone of the new Jewish city in the Episcopal Church in Buffalo, then under the rectorship of the Rev. Edison Searle.

On the second day of September, 1825, the imposing ceremony of laying the cornerstone of the City of Ararat took place. A full account of the activities of the day was written up by Noah himself in *The Buffalo Patriot Extra*. It read in part as follows: "We are gratified to perceive by the documents in this day's *Extra* that coupled with this colonization is a declaration of independence and a revival of the Jewish government under the protection of the United States after the dispersion of this ancient and worthy people for nearly two thousand years and the appointment of Mr. Noah as first judge. It was intended to celebrate the event on the island and a flag staff was erected for the grand standard of Israel; but it was discovered that a sufficient number of boats could not be procured in time to convey all the crowd to the island. At dawn of day a salute was fired in front of the court-house and from the terrace facing the lake."

The moment has come for the procession to start towards the church where the ceremonies are to take place. Hundreds of people are there. In the procession itself are military and civil officials, Masons, clergymen, president and trustees of the corporation, stewards with corn, wine, and oil, a Master-Mason, Royal Arch-Masons and a Knight Templar. And there, standing out of the whole assembly, is Noah himself, attired as a judge of Israel, wearing the judicial robes of crimson silk

trimmed with ermine, and a richly-embossed golden medal suspended from the neck.

Now the procession is at the church. It marches down the aisles, as the troops open to the right and left, and the band plays the Grand March from "Judas Maccabeus." On the communion table lies the cornerstone with the following inscription upon it: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord is One. Ararat, a City of Refuge for the Jews Founded by Mordecai Manuel Noah in the month of Tishri, September, 1825, in the 50th year of American Independence." On the stone stand silver cups with wine, corn, and oil. The Rev. Searle reads the morning service, and now Noah rises and exclaims that the time has come for the restoration of the Jews as a nation, because of their piety and constancy to their God. And then he utters his proclamation:

. . . "Therefore I, Mordecai Manuel Noah, citizen of the United States of America, late Consul of said states to the city and kingdom of Tunis, High Sheriff of New York, counselor-at-law, and by the grace of God, governor and judge of Israel have issued this my proclamation announcing to the Jews throughout the world that an asylum is prepared and hereby offered to them where they can enjoy that peace, comfort and happiness which have been denied them through the intolerance and mis-government of former ages; an asylum in a free and powerful country remarkable for its vast resources, the richness of its oil and the salubrity of its climate; where industry is encouraged, education promoted and good faith rewarded, a land of milk and honey, where Israel may repose in peace, under his 'vine and fig tree,' and where our people may so familiarize themselves with the science of government and the lights of learning and civilization as may qualify them for that great and final restoration to their ancient heritage, which the times so powerfully indicate. . . .

"Deprived as our people have been for centuries of a

right in the soil, they will learn, with peculiar satisfaction that here they can till the soil, reap the harvest, and raise the flocks that are unquestionably their own; in the full and unmolested enjoyment of their religious rights and of every civil immunity, together with peace and plenty, they can lift up their voice in gratitude to Him who sustained our fathers in the wilderness. . . .

"In His name do I revive, renew and reestablish the government of the Jewish nation under the auspices and protection of the Constitution and laws of the United States of America; confirming and perpetuating all our rights and privileges—our name, our rank, and our power among the nations of the earth—as they existed and were recognized under the government of the Judges. And I hereby enjoin it upon all our pious and venerable rabbis, our presidents and elders of the synagogue, chiefs of colleges and brethren in authority throughout the world to circulate and make known this, my proclamation and give it full publicity, credence and effect.

"It is my will that a census of the Jews throughout the world be taken. . . . Those of our people who from age, local attachment, or from any other cause prefer remaining in the several parts of the world which they now respectively inhabit and who are treated with liberality by the public authorities are permitted to do so and are specially commended to be faithful to the governments which protect them. It is, however, expected that they will aid and encourage the emigration of the young and enterprising and endeavor to send to this country such as will add to our national strength and character by their industry, honor and patriotism. . . .

"I abolish forever polygamy among the Jews, which, without religious warrant still exists in Asia and Africa. I shall prohibit marriages or giving Kedushim without both parties are of a suitable age and can read and write the

language of the country which they respectively inhabit. . . .

"Prayers shall forever be said in the Hebrew language, but it is recommended that occasional discourses on the principles of the Jewish faith and doctrines of morality generally be delivered in the language of the country, together with such reforms, which without departing from the ancient faith may add greater solemnity to our worship. . . .

"The Indians of the American continent, in their admitted Asiatic origin—in their worship of God—in their dialect and language—in their sacrifices, marriages, divorces, burials, fastings, purifications, punishments, cities of refuge, divisions of tribes—in their High Priests—in their wars and victories, being in all probability the descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel which were carried captive by the King of Assyria, measures will be adopted to make them sensible of their condition and finally reunite them to their brethren—the Chosen People.

"A capitation tax of three shekels in silver per annum or one Spanish dollar, is hereby levied upon each Jew throughout the world to be collected by the treasurer of the different congregations for the purpose of defraying the various expenses of organizing the government, of aiding immigrants in the purchase of agricultural implements, providing for their immediate wants and comforts and assisting their families in making their first settlements, together with such free will offerings as may be generally made in the furtherance of the laudable objects connected with the restoration of the people and the glory of the Jewish nation. A Judge of Israel shall be chosen every four years by the Consistory in Paris." . . .

But this was as far as the City of Ararat ever got. The foreign rabbis denounced Noah and his entire scheme. The American Jews laughed at him and censured him; and after

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a storm of ridicule had been heaped on his head, the whole thing died away.⁵

Noah, however, lost no prestige by the failure of his scheme. He still remained a power in politics, and his pen remained lively and active. He was appointed Associate-Judge of the New York Court of Sessions in 1841, and in the following year was elected president of the Hebrew Benevolent Society. He was also president of the Jewish Charity Organization of New York, and remained at its head when it merged into a B'nai B'rith Lodge.

Noah in his heyday was a great literary and political lion in New York. George P. Morris, the editor of one of our earliest literary journals, says of Noah "that he told the best story, rounded the best sentence, wrote the best play of all his contemporaries, and as an editor, critic, and author, he was looked upon as an oracle."

⁵ Zangwill, in his story *Noah's Ark*, tells the story of a character Peloni who reads Noah's proclamation in a Frankfort synagogue, and lured by its promises, journeys to Grand Island. But to his disappointment he finds that Noah has abandoned Ararat, and after spending the winter amid its desolation, he meets up one day with Red Jacket, the great Indian Chief. "Tell me," says Red Jacket imperiously, "what nation are you that build a monument but never a city like the other white men, nor even a camp like my people?" "Great Chief," replies Peloni, "we are a people that build for others." "Ye would build for my people then," answers the Chief. "For these white men sweep us back farther, farther, till there is nothing but"—and he makes an eloquent gesture, implying the sweep into the river, into the jaws of the hurrying rapids. "Yet methinks, I heard of a plan of your people—of a great pow-wow of your chiefs in a church, of a great city to be born here." "It is dead before birth," says Peloni. And in that instance it was born in upon Peloni that they were indeed brothers; the Jew that stood for the world that could not be born again, and the red Indian who stood for the world that must pass away. Yes, they were both doomed. Israel had been too bent and broken by the long dispersion and the long persecution; the spring was snapped; he could not recover. He had been too long the pliant protege of kings and popes; he had prayed too many centuries in too many countries for the simultaneous welfare of too many governments, to be capable of realizing that government of his own for which he likewise prayed. This pious patience—this rejection of the burden onto the shoulders of Messiah and Miracle—was it more than the veil of unconscious impotence? Ah, better sweep oneself away than endure long ignominy. . . . And Peloni, clutching Noah's proclamation, throws himself into the remorseless whirl of Niagara.

On March 22, 1851, at the age of sixty-five, Mordecai Manuel Noah, the most vivid Jew in American history, was gathered unto his fathers.

JUDAH TOURO—THE GIANT OF NEW ORLEANS

Another remarkable Jewish figure of this period was Judah Touro, son of Rabbi Isaac Touro of the Newport synagogue. Judah was born in Newport, Rhode Island, on June 16, 1775, two months after the battle of Lexington. He came of old Spanish-Jewish stock which had settled in Holland after the expulsion from Spain in 1492. When Judah was still a child his father moved to Jamaica, following the dispersal of the Newport congregation. Upon the death of Rabbi Touro in 1783, his widow took her two children, Judah and Abraham, to live with her brother, Moses Hays, one of the most prominent merchants of Boston. Here Judah received a good education, and was given employment in his uncle's counting house. When Judah was twenty-two his uncle sent him to the Mediterranean as super-cargo of a valuable shipment. The vessel met up with a French privateer, a desperate conflict took place, and the young Touro, displaying great daring and bravery, emerged the victor.

Although successful in battle, he was unsuccessful in love. He formed an attachment for his cousin, Catherine Hays, the daughter of his uncle, but his ardent wooing came to naught. Broken-hearted, he left Boston to seek his fortune in the South. Strange to say, neither he nor his cousin ever married.

Young Touro came to New Orleans in 1802, two years before the Louisiana Purchase. He opened a store, and built up a thriving trade in New England products through his connections in Boston. The purchase of Louisiana territory aided him greatly, and he soon became one of the wealthiest merchants on the gulf coast.

During the battle of New Orleans, in 1815, he left his business and fought under Andrew Jackson in defense of the city.

He was seriously wounded, and would probably have died if it had not been for the good friend, Rezin D. Shephard, who came to him in the nick of time.

Touro was a very rich man. He owned many ships and had large real estate holdings. His contribution of \$10,000 made possible the erection of the Bunker Hill Monument, and brought him nation-wide fame. The year before he had strengthened the enclosure of the old Jewish cemetery at Newport. After his death, on January 18, 1854, he left more than half a million dollars to charity, including endowments to nearly all the Jewish congregations in the country. Hospitals, homes, the Jewish cemetery at Newport, almshouses in Jerusalem—all received the benefits of his large fortune.⁶

His was a great charitable nature. His sympathies went out to the oppressed and the poor. Although he lived in a southern state, he never kept slaves. He was revered by all, and only the objections of orthodox rabbis and the precipitation of the Civil War prevented the erection of a monument to his memory.

His body was taken back to Newport, and buried in the cemetery immortalized by Longfellow.

“How strange it seems! These Hebrews in their graves,
Close by the street of this fair seaport town,
Silent beside the never-silent waves,
At rest in all this moving up and down!

“The very names recorded here are strange,
Of foreign accent, and of different climes;
Alvares and Rivera interchange
With Abraham and Jacob of old times.

“How came they here? What burst of Christian hate,
What persecution, merciless and blind,
Drove o’er the sea—that desert desolate—
These Ishmaels and Hagars of mankind?

⁶ At one time he bought a Universalist Church which its congregation had been forced to sell because of too many debts, and later gave it back free and clear to its parishioners.

"Pride and humiliation hand in hand
Walked with them through the world where'er they
went;

Trampled and beaten were they as the sand,
And yet unshaken as the continent."

His funeral was the largest since Commodore Perry's in
1826. On his tombstone was engraved this inscription:

"The last of his name, he inscribed it in the book
of philanthropy to be remembered forever."

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE GERMAN JEWS

WHY THE GERMAN JEW CAME TO AMERICA

1815. In Germany, in Austria, in Bohemia, Jews cry out against the oppression of an infuriated, avenging monarchism. In the larger cities, the Jews are herded together in ghettos, a despised people. Their lives, brightened for the moment by the Napoleonic wars, were doubly darkened by the defeat of the Corsican and the Congress of Vienna. Frankfort became the leader in the post-revolutionary wave of anti-Semitism. The university, politics, the army, law—these were forbidden the Jew. Especially invented taxes squeezed them penniless. Marriage among them was restricted. Jew-baiting became a national sport. German professors, to while away the time, wrote scurrilous little pamphlets against the Jews. In 1819 these attacks from professorial pens culminated in serious riots in Heidelberg and Frankfort. Jews were pillaged and beaten, and the government secretly applauded. . . .

One June day, in the year 1785, Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria, issued a decree banishing all the Jews from Bohemia. Maria, however, was not really bad at heart. She weakened at the clink of coppers, and postponed the decree for ten years upon payment of a large annual tax. She thought better of the whole matter at the end, for the decree was subsequently revoked upon the condition that the number of Jewish families should not be increased.

The Jews of Bohemia and Austria stretched their limbs under the rulership of Maria Theresa's successor, Joseph II. He was a gentleman and a liberal, as kings go, and not without good sense and judgment. Realizing that the Jews could do him and his kingdom a lot of good, he slackened rein, allow-

ing them certain civil, industrial and commercial liberties. The number of Jewish families permitted in Bohemia was increased; laws describing differences in dress were abolished; and in some communities Jews could live outside of the ghetto. This was not all. Jews were permitted to till the soil, become lessees of land, leave their native city to study, attend Christian schools, and learn the sciences. But it was not for long. The battle of Waterloo was the Waterloo also for the European Jew. The reactionary party under Metternich had full sway, and the Jew got the brunt of it. From then on, unable to bear the persecution any longer, Jews in ever increasing numbers left the land that had suddenly grown hateful to them, left the narrow dirty streets of the Frankfort ghetto, left the stench of anti-Semitism—left it all sore at heart, beaten, disillusioned.

There had been some German Jews in America before this, but their numbers were small. Some had served among the Hessians as soldiers and interpreters. Among the earliest settlers in New York had been a handful of sturdy, broad-boned German Jews. As early as 1712 the very Rev. John Sharpe observed with Christian surprise that New York contained a "synagogue of Jews, and many of them from Poland, Hungary, Germany, etc." Some of the bolder spirits had cut down along the eastern coast to Georgia, for there was a settlement of German Jews in that state in 1733. German Jews indeed had begun to make a name for themselves even before 1800. Jonas Phillips, the Gratzs, the Simons, Hyman Levy, the Harts, Sampson Simson, Isaac Moses and others figured prominently in the years preceding the real wave of German Jewish immigration. As early as 1785 a certain German Jew drafted a petition to Congress on behalf of several thousand co-religionists in Germany who were willing to pay double taxes if permitted to establish colonies in the United States.¹ About this time, or not long after, German Jews dribbled into

¹ Whether the petition ever got to Congress, or whether anything ever came of it, is not known.

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Philadelphia and Maryland. That the majority of these early German immigrants were Jews is made plain in a statement by the German writer, Gerstaecker, in 1849, that "not one-tenth of the German immigrants were Christians."

But there was no large stream of German Jews in those days, nor German colonies established, for they were not a sea-faring people. These early Germans were an intelligent lot. They held themselves aloof from the Sephardim, joining them only in worship.

With the 1840's, and the climactic failure of the 1848 Revolution, the German-Jewish wave of immigration to America began in earnest. They came penniless, hungry, illiterate. But they were a hard-working lot, and shrewd, and their poverty slipped from them like an old garment. They settled in the large centers, while the more adventurous and hardy of them went to the South and to the West, there to build up large fortunes in trade and industry.

THE VOYAGE

Crowded together in the warped bellies of rotting ships, they fled from their Fatherland to a new land of promise and hope. The emigration agents had done their work well. Their high-pressure tactics, their glib lies, their fantastic promises filled their masters' ships with human flesh. In the dark, moldy cabins which served as sleeping quarters as well as latrines, reeking with the stench of human sweat and excretion, Jews lay sick and hungry. Food and water were scarce. A crust of bread and a bowl of watery soup often served as a day's repast. Prayers filled the holds of the creaking ships; but food remained scarce as ever; the rank stench left mouths bitter and stomachs nauseous; disease spread; corpses multiplied and lay rotting in the cabins, or were hurled into the sea. "If the crosses and the tombstones," writes an earnest traveler in 1869, "could be erected in the waters as on the

western deserts, where they indicate the resting places of white men killed by the savages or by the elements, the routes of the immigrant vessels from Europe to America would have assumed the appearance of crowded cemeteries."

Conditions became so bad that one day the United States Senate woke up and said something about it. A report prepared by that eminent body in 1854² indicates that typhus, cholera, and small-pox were prevalent among the foreigners because of the overcrowding in compartments, the retention of bodily excretion in the sleeping compartments, and the exclusion of fresh air.

The governor of New York in 1854 wrote in his message that the authorities were unable to account for the causes of the ravages of the mysterious disease, cholera, which had caused fearful loss on board the immigrant ship. The cause was apparent enough to the Hon. Fred Myers who was strongly moved to utterance: "If Europe were to present us with three hundred thousand cattle per year, ample means would be employed to secure their proper protection and distribution, but thus far the general movement has done but little to diminish the numerous hardships of an emigrant's position. . . . Since Congress has assumed the power to protect dumb animals in transit on railways, the power to protect passengers may be conceded."³ But little was done by the "general government," despite the reports and messages from well-meaning gentlemen and office-holders. Jews were exploited pitilessly both on board ship and off. Unscrupulous boarding-house keepers maintained "runners" and "sharks" at Castle Garden who preyed upon the frightened, gaping immigrants, dazed by their sudden contact with a new roaring civilization. But they came out of their daze, and plunged into the young, bruising life of America, identifying themselves with her meanings and her symbols. They put on her garments, they took her speech, her accent, and her color, her every mood, her every en-

² Senate Reports, 33rd Congress, First session No. 386.

³ Senate Executive Documents, 42nd Cong. First Sess. No. 73.

thusiasm, habit, turn, and way of living. Jew—German—American amalgamated into a single, hard, conglomerate entity—American Jew.

WHAT THE GERMAN JEW FOUND IN AMERICA

The German Jew found America in a ferment of physical and intellectual restlessness. America was growing. New territories were being brought into the Union. Boundaries were edging slowly towards the Pacific and the Gulf. Louisiana became an American possession in 1803, while more than a decade earlier hundreds of American pioneers struck out for Spanish territory beyond the Mississippi. Before the middle of the nineteenth century America touched the hem of Texas and looked to Mexico for new conquests. Kentucky had been admitted as a state in 1792, and Tennessee four years later. The West was vibrant with agricultural ambitions. In 1811 West Florida was declared to be part of American soil as a gesture of defense against a possible Spanish-English thrust; and soon after, with little ado, Congress authorized the President to take possession of East Florida.⁴

Machinery, science, and discovery had their beginnings in these hectic years. In 1834 Faraday announced the law of electro-chemical equivalents; a decade later Morse announced the completion of the first successful telegraph line; Harvard subsidized Louis Agassiz, Yale financed Benjamin Silliman, and the Federal Naval Observatory encouraged the researches of Matthew Maury. Printing came of age with the development of the power-press, and Jacksonian America learned to read. Audubon and his wife made their way into the American jungles to study plant and bird-life; Joseph Henry contributed to the knowledge of physics and meteorology; while Asa Gray pursued his studies in botany. In the same year,

⁴It was this fever of accession, and the hot ambition of the agricultural frontier that brought about the second War of Independence.

1847, were founded the American Association for the Advancement of Science, and the Smithsonian Institution and National Museum. Long, Jackson, Wells, Morton, and Warren made possible painless surgery. Cyrus W. Field, a native son of Massachusetts, laid the wire that spanned the Atlantic. Science came to the aid of American agriculture. In 1839 appropriations were made to the patent office for the purchase and distribution of new seeds and plants. Statistics were gathered, and studies undertaken for the conservation of natural resources.

Sanitation, transportation and public safety became matters of considerable concern. The German Jew witnessed the completion of the Croton water system in New York, and the creation of a sewer department. In this magnificent era the bathtub was born, and dirt flew. Sidewalks came to Philadelphia from Paris. In 1849 Broadway was paved with large granite squares, and nine years later a thousand acres along the Hudson were set aside as a city park.

These years, too, saw the beginnings of many important municipal agencies. The first regular public health service was organized. Boston and Baltimore established municipal fire brigades. New York in 1853 dressed its policemen in blue coats, grey trousers, and regulation caps.

Scholarship fell in line with kindred developments. Jared Sparks collected and edited the works of Washington Irving in twelve volumes and the works of Franklin in ten. His friend, Peter Force, put his heart and energy into the projection of an immense library of American archives.⁵ George Bancroft filled ten books with records of American history from the founding of the colonies to the establishment of the Constitution. Richard Hildreth, a disillusioned Federalist, wrote a calm and critical story of American politics from the age of discovery to the Missouri Compromise. Irving poked fun at the New

⁵ His work, however, was cut short when the Federal Government refused to continue his salary.

York Knickerbockers; while George Tucker, a gentleman from the South, wrote a solid book on the nation's past.

American literature became significant, for the first time, in the forties. Writers rose to meet the unprecedented demand for books. Publishing houses multiplied over night. Printing presses worked over time. In this era wrote Cooper, Hawthorne, Stowe, Irving, Holmes, Lowell, Thoreau, Whittier, Emerson, and Whitman. It was the Elizabethan age in American literature.

Educational reform received its first impetus in the middle of the nineteenth century. Horace Mann brought life into the classroom and discarded the rod. Henry Barnard established the first State Teachers' Association in the United States in 1845, and helped to found the American Association for the Advancement of Education in 1855. He established and edited the American Journal of Education, translated the writings of Cemenius, Rousseau, and Pestalozzi, and brought into being the Federal Bureau of Education.

Into this hotbed of political, social and economic unrest, came the German Jew. He found America alert, quivering with life, ambitious. On the east of him lay the Atlantic, the great cities, learning, culture; on the west roared the Pacific, the hills raised their rocky, turbulent heads, the soil lay hungry for the plow.

THE GERMAN JEW GOES TO WORK

The German Jew was a plucky, hard-working, honest, frugal, illiterate individual. For a long time the Spanish Jew looked down upon his German brother, and held himself socially aloof. Occasionally they rubbed shoulders in the synagogue; but it was not long before the German Jew built his own place of worship.

Judaism in America was at the point of stagnation when the German Jew, bundle on back, arrived in New York. In-

termarriage and rapid and complete assimilation had thinned the ranks of Sephardic Jewry and diluted the streams of American Judaism. With the coming of the German Jew, Judaism once more reasserted itself. New blood, new life raced through its arteries. Jewish consciousness quickened; religious worship took on a fresh vigor; the synagogue echoed again with strong, hopeful voices.

The German Jew was no idler. He took at once to peddling. He bought himself some notions, tied them up in a bundle, and set foot to make a living. He went South, made his way through great plantations, fascinated the beautiful daughters of rich slave owners with his wares and his stories. He went West, to Illinois and Ohio and Iowa and Wisconsin, to Oregon and Texas. His foot touched the soil of California and Nevada, the red-jawed hills of Utah looked down upon him, the Rio Grande ran sluggishly at his feet. And wherever he went he brought a fund of good cheer and anecdotes and tales of life across the sea. The itinerant peddler was well-liked and his visits were looked forward to as to a holiday. The girls would flock around him, examining his wares, admiring the marvelous assortment of ribbons, silver trinkets and brooches, and combs and the men folk would smoke a pipe with him and talk over the crops, and business, and things in the East. Often the peddler would be treated as a guest, would be fed and housed for days on end, until work called him away.

The German Jew had a head on his shoulders. He had nerve and pluck. He knew how to buy and how to sell. He lived frugally, and saved his money.

Times were good. The country was growing. Men were spending. The ground was rich with minerals, the hills with gold. But a pair of legs are no match for a thousand miles of rough country. The German Jew counted up his savings. One-half went to Europe. With the other half he bought himself a horse and cart.

The German Jew did not remain a peddler for long. Soon

he came to a village that pleased him. The air was sweet here, and the soil was rich, and it was a good place to raise a family. But he was not a farmer. He had long ago forgotten the trick of turning the soil and planting the seed. He was a born merchant, a buyer and seller, a trader. He loved commerce and the clash of wits. He would become a shop-keeper. That was more to his liking.

First a small store—dry goods, clothing, a little general merchandise. He was a keen business man. Peddling had taught him a great deal. The little store grew. Out of it emerged great department stores, and clothing establishments and banking houses.

THE JEW GOES WEST

The German Jew found America restless with growing pains. The West was opening up. The rich fertile Ohio Valley had already tempted a handful of brave Jews. The cry of gold echoed off the western hills.

The first Jews to invade the new country were traders and peddlers and trappers. As early as 1792, Jacob Franks had established a trading post and lumber mill at Green Bay, Wisconsin. Six years later, John Hays settled in Illinois territory, a great raw piece of land which then included the present state of Indiana. In 1852 we find the Samuel brothers and their fur post in the northern part of Minnesota. As early as 1844 itinerant Jewish traders built their shacks in small, crusty, Mississippi towns. Missouri's Jewry began in the 30's and 40's with a handful of bearded immigrants from the River Rhine. As a result of the ordinance of 1787 which provided for manhood suffrage without regard to race, color, or religion, Jews lost no time in lending their wits to politics. In both Iowa and Illinois, Jews held office before there was a sufficient number of them to form a "minyan." In 1842, Abraham Jonas was elected to the state legislature of Illinois, and in 1856 was chosen Republican presidential elector with instructions to

cast his vote for John Fremont, the candidate of the young Republican party, then making its debut in national politics.⁶

For a long time, despite the westward movement, New York remained the center of the German-Jewish population. For more than a century the Shearith Israel was the only congregation and synagogue in New York. In 1825 a second congregation was formed—the B'nai Jeshurun. The new congregation adopted the English instead of the Portuguese ritual, and among its members were some German Jews. But by 1830 New York had a distinctly German congregation—the Anshe Chesed—which for many years remained the largest German-Jewish congregation in America, and became, forty years later, one of the constituent congregations of the Temple Beth-El.

But no matter what New York had to offer the Jew—or the crowded, bustling, vigorous towns on the east Atlantic coast—there was still the West with its unplumbed possibilities. One day, into the Ohio Valley, came a young English Jew named Joseph Jonas. In October, 1816, he had come to New York from his home in Exeter, England. While still in England he had heard a great deal of the Ohio Valley, and he had made up his mind that there he would go to seek his fortune. His friends argued with him day and night. What business had he, a Jew, to go into “the wilds of America, and entirely among gentiles?” But Jonas was stubborn. He left his friends and his home, and came to Cincinnati, where he set himself up as a watchmaker. He was the only Jew there, and his constant prayer was “that he might be a nucleus around which the first congregation might be formed to worship the God of Israel in the great Western territory.”

Soon word spread that a man of the Israelite nation was here in the West, and from all parts of the country around came people to see him, and talk to him. One old Quakeress, who had come from afar to see him, said; “Art thou a Jew? Thou art one of God’s chosen people. Wilt thou let me ex-

⁶ As a matter of fact, the Jews were instrumental in organizing the new party.

amine thee?" And examine him she did, turning him round and round, and then exclaimed, a little disappointed: "Well, thou art no different from other people!"

For two years Jonas was the only Jew in Cincinnati—the oldest Jewish community west of the Alleghany Mountains.⁷ But in June of 1819 he was joined by three other Jews—Lewis Cohen, of London, Barnett Levi of Liverpool, and Jonas Levi of Exeter. During the High Holidays in the autumn of 1819, these four, together with Israel Johnson of Brookville, Indiana—a frontier trading station—conducted the first Jewish services in the western part of the United States.

From this time on Jews kept drifting into the Ohio Valley. For the most part, these early settlers were of English descent but with the opening of the third decade, the influx to the Ohio Valley was definitely of a German character.

By 1823 there were twenty Jewish residents in Cincinnati, and services were held regularly on New Year's Day and the Day of Atonement. On January 4, 1824, a meeting was held at the home of Morris Moses, and plans were formulated for the organization of the B'nai Israel Congregation—the oldest Jewish Congregation in the Middle West. On January 8, 1830, the Congregation was incorporated under the laws of the state, and five years later, on the 11th of June, the cornerstone of the Synagogue was laid. On September 9, 1836, the dedicatory services were held, with Joseph Samuels as official reader. It was a day of great rejoicing. The Jews had found a home in the West.

The synagogue was soon followed by other institutions. In 1838 was organized the first benevolent society, with Philius Moses as president. Four years later Mrs. Louisa Symonds became superintendent of the first religious school. A talmud torah followed in 1845, and a year later James K. Gutheim established the Hebrew Institute.

⁷ In the first Cincinnati directory of 1819, his is the only Jewish name, and he is described as a silversmith and an Officer of the First Vail of the Cincinnati Royal Arch Chapter of Masons.

For some reason or other, the German Jews and the English Jews did not get along well together. Disputes broke out in the synagogue, hot words were spilled, and for a time they were at swords' ends. As a result, the Germans decided to strike out for themselves. On the 9th of September, 1841, they organized the B'ne Jeshurun Congregation, with Simon Bamburger as its first reader.

Judaism became firmly rooted in the West. Nourished by the spirited endeavor of the German Jews, and inspired, in its early days, by the fire and genius of Lilienthal and Wise, Judaism flowered, and Cincinnati became the Jewish center of the Middle West. Here were born the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Hebrew Union College, the Hebrew Sabbath-School Union, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis.

ON TO THE COAST

One day there came the cry of gold, and into the gold fields of the western coast went men, fearless and hot with ambition. Among those men were Jews who struck out on foot and covered wagon to plunder the hills. It is doubtful whether there were any Jews in California before 1849. But in this year, on a Yom Kippur day, in a tent pitched on the soil of San Francisco, "a minyan" of Jews held the first religious services in the far West.⁸ Jews found their way along the American River to where the veins of gold were thickest—to Placer, Amador, and Yuba Counties; and wherever a handful of Jews were thrown together, a Jewish "mining" congregation or benevolent society took root. In the years between 1852 and 1859, a host of these societies sprang up and flourished.⁹ Charity and brotherhood and faith were the constant companions of this early adventurous tribe. Judaism meant more

⁸ The Jewish community in San Francisco was the oldest in California.

⁹ At Stockton, in 1851, we hear even of a society for the care of the Jewish insane.

than racial identity; it meant comradeship and fraternity and a will to live by a faith that was the very marrow of Judaism—a faith to which these clear-eyed rugged pioneers added another touch of immortality.

Into this sprawling, gold-ribbed state, came Jews, seeking for riches, and staying to take a prominent part in its growth, its government and politics. From 1852 to 1857 Solomon Heydenfeldt was Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of California. Elkan Heydenfeldt and Isaac Cardozo were members of the State Legislature in 1852. Samuel Marx was made United States appraiser of the port of San Francisco, and Joseph Shannon was county-treasurer of the city in 1851.

Gold was a commodity which appealed strongly to the commercial instinct of the Jew. Financial transactions with Europe and the East were undertaken by Benjamin Davidson, Albert Priest of Rhode Island, Albert Dyer of Baltimore, the Lazard brothers, the Seligmans, the Glaziers, and the Wormsers. Out of these humble beginnings on the west coast grew Big Business. There was Moritz Friedlander, the grain king; Michael Reese, the realty broker; Adolph Sutro, of engineering fame and the Sutro tunnel. The London, Paris and American Bank was founded by the Lazard brothers. The Seligmans lent their financial genius to the Anglo-American Bank. Out of the skill and brains of Jews grew the Nevada Bank, the Union Trust Company, and the Farmers' and Merchants' Bank of Los Angeles.

Into the Northwest they plunged, these tough, intrepid Jews. John Rosenfeld exploited the rich and virgin coal fields of Canada; the seal fisheries and mineral resources of Alaska were developed by the Jewish successors of the Hudson Bay Company; the Liebes, Blum, and Roth battled for fortunes in the ice-rusted Northwest—and won them.

Where California rests its head on the lap of Oregon came a handful of German Jews one Spring day in the early 50's. From the southern part of Germany they came, from New York and the Atlantic States, through Panama and up the

long stretches of California. They settled mainly in Portland, and there, on the 2nd day of May in 1868, was founded the Congregation Beth Israel.

With the admission of the territory of Oregon into the Union, Jews raised their voices in municipal and state politics. Solomon Hirsch identified himself with both the lower and upper houses of the state legislature and was appointed U. S. Minister to Turkey in his later days. Joseph Simon was a member of the State and United States Senate. Philip Wasserman handled the political affairs of Portland, and Bernard Goldsmith took over the mayoralty duties of the city some time after.

The discovery of gold at Pike's Peak, and the concomitant industrial panic in the eastern states, brought the Jews into Colorado. No Santa Fé or Southern Pacific Railroad crossed the plains in those days. But on foot and in covered wagon they came, and in 1858 they settled in Denver, which gradually became the center of Jewish life in Colorado.

Peddler, trader, adventurer, mystic—over the face of America went these seekers. Where they stood a temple grew; where they worked the earth gave up its riches and the hills their wealth; where they went trade flourished, commerce grew, business thrived. They filled the air with a clamor and thunder of enterprise; their spirit and ambition broke barriers, overcame obstacles, built fortunes, and raised memorials to peace, learning and charity.

West, South, and Middle West. The German Jews came to Georgia before the middle of the eighteenth century, and of them the Rev. Mr. Bolzius wrote with commendable spirit: "Because the Jews show a great love for us . . . we hope we will preach the gospel of Jesus Christ to them with good success. They are both born in Germany and speak good German."

In Wheeling, West Virginia, we hear of a Jewish Cemetery Association (April 20, 1849), and come across such good German names as Samuel Klein, Meyer and Alexander Heyman,

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Julius Ballenberg, Isaac Horkheimer, Meyer and Simon Stein, Seligman, Oppenheimer, and Graf. In May, 1849, the Congregation Leshem was organized, with Manheim as its rabbi.¹⁰

Jews found their way into Wisconsin as early as 1792. In that year Jacob Franks went to Green Bay and directed the first grist and saw mill in that section of the country. The Congregation B'ne Jeshurun of Milwaukee—the first congregation in Wisconsin—was organized in 1852. Among its founders were the Germans Lobol Rindskopf, Leopold Newbauer, Solomon Adler, Emanuel Silverman, and others.

In 1838, the first Jewish settler, a certain J. Gottlieb, arrived in Chicago. Twenty German Jews followed during the next six years, and they continued to come in large numbers upon the completion of the Galena and Chicago Railway to Elgin. Most of these early settlers came from Bavaria and the Rhenish Palatinate. On the Day of Atonement in the year 1845, ten men met in a small private room and held the first religious services in Chicago. Meyer Klein and Philip Newberg read the services. In 1846 an acre of land on the shore of Lake Michigan was bought for \$46 and converted into a Jewish cemetery. The following year saw the organization of the first Jewish congregation in Chicago—the Kehillat Anshe Ma'Arab. For a time the fourteen members of the congregation met in a private room; but in 1849 they leased a lot on Clark Street (where the postoffice now stands), and built a frame synagogue. Four years later the congregation established a day-school where Hebrew and regular school subjects were taught.

Among the pioneers of Iowa was a Jew named France. He arrived there in August, 1833, and opened up a grocery store in a newly organized village named Dubuque. In 1837 Iowa became a territory, and the first foreigner to be naturalized was a certain B. Levi.

During the first ten years after Iowa became a state, not

¹⁰ As far as can be now ascertained, there were no Jews in West Virginia prior to 1840.

less than a hundred peddlers came there. Mr. Krouse, one of the early pioneers, was the founder of the largest Jewry in Iowa, and was responsible for the first public school in Des Moines. It was mainly from Poland that the early Iowa Jews came. They were poor and unable to form a congregation or hire a shochet or purchase a Sepher Torah, or pay rent for a synagogue. But they organized a charity society to aid the sick and needy, and bury their dead. In 1855, the B'ne Israel Congregation was formed and a cemetery was bought. During the years 1856-57, some German Jews came to Iowa. Most of them flocked to Davenport, and helped build up the city.

Some time in 1848, a dozen or so families of Bavarian Jews found their way into Michigan and settled in Detroit. From the northern part of the state came rumors of iron and copper, and before long a number of Detroit Jews beat their way to the upper peninsula. Some took to peddling, others worked with pick and shovel. It was a rich country, and many Jews laid the foundation there of large fortunes. Not long after the arrival of the Jews in Detroit, the Beth El society was formed, out of which later grew the Beth El Congregation. This was on September 22, 1850. Between this time and 1880 the Jewish population in Michigan grew slowly. But with the 80's and the tremendous wave of immigration from Russia and eastern Europe, the Jewish population of Michigan grew to considerable proportions.

It was in 1802 that the Rodeph Shalom Congregation of Philadelphia—the first German-Jewish congregation in America—was organized. Prayers were pronounced according to German and Dutch rules. The first worship was held in a building on the north side of Pear Street between Walnut and Spruce Streets. The president was a very busy man. He had to maintain strict order during services, appoint the readers, select the place where the matzos were to be baked, collect the offerings, and impose fines.

In the early days of the congregation services were con-

ducted by laymen, but in 1819, what with the growth of membership, and the fattening of the treasury, a cantor was elected. In 1847 the congregation obtained for itself a synagogue on Juliana Street and Hazan Jacob Frankel came to stand in its pulpit. . . .

The German Jew was a pioneer, a landbreaker, a backwoodsman, a peddler, an adventurer. He drove the covered wagon across the prairie to the hills of California, to Texas, to the hard-baked soil of Utah and Nevada, to the frozen wastes of Canada, to Georgia, Florida and the Gulf. Into the West and the North, to the South and the wide stretches of waste-land and wilderness went Judaism and the Mosaic Law; and each small tent pitched on some hill was a temple and a synagogue.

CHAPTER NINE

JUDAISM IN THE FIFTIES

WINNING FREEDOM IN MARYLAND

THE decades rolled on. German, English, and Polish Jews settled over the land. They were becoming a force in the New World.

Judaism was really taking root now. Jews were becoming wealthy. Synagogues and congregations were multiplying. The older Jewish communities flourished and new Jewish settlements arose.

The Jew was fighting tooth and nail for freedom. In Maryland he came up against a stone wall. Religious prejudice had sunk deep roots into this soil. For 150 years the practice of Judaism in Maryland was punishable by death. The law was repealed with the entrance of Maryland into statehood; but the germ of prejudice, though greatly weakened, was still alive. In the new state constitution of 1776 "a declaration of belief in the Christian religion" was one of the qualifications for public office. This was a matter of serious concern to the Jews. Solomon Etting and Barnard Gratz, two of the most prominent citizens in Baltimore, presented a petition to the General Assembly stating "that they are a sect of people called Jews, and thereby deprived of many of the valuable rights of citizenship, and pray to be placed upon the same footing as other good citizens." The Assembly read the petition over carefully, put it aside, and forgot about it for the next five years.

A curious thing happened in 1801 when Reuben Etting, a brother of Solomon Etting, was appointed United States Marshal in Maryland by President Thomas Jefferson. This presented an anomalous situation, for while a Jew could not

hold the office of constable under the state law, here was one occupying a position of great responsibility in the federal government. Encouraged by this, the Jews presented a second petition in 1802, and another in 1803 and 1804. The petition was each time defeated, however, although by progressively smaller margins.

Between 1811 and 1826 the "Jew Bill" became a political bone of contention in Maryland. The rural districts were as strongly opposed to the repeal of the bill as the representatives from Baltimore were for it. In 1825 Baltimore got the upper hand over the farmers, when "an act for the relief of the Jews of Maryland" was passed by the skin of its teeth.¹

In 1826 there were 125 Jews in Baltimore—according to Solomon Etting—while the entire Jewish population of the United States was not more than 6,000. The Jews of Baltimore were well-off. They were worth, in the aggregate, some half-million dollars, and played an active and vigorous part in the economic and cultural life of the city.²

THE JEWS TACKLE NORTH CAROLINA

North Carolina shared with Maryland the doubtful distinction of being the last state in the Union to grant complete rights to the Jews. While the state constitution of 1776 provided freedom of worship—and went so far even as to exclude clergymen from membership in the senate, house of commons, or council of state—it contained a cankerous clause which declared ineligible for office all those who denied the being

¹ No sooner was the victory scored, than Solomon Etting and Jacob I. Cohen were elected members of the Baltimore City Council. Later, Etting became president of that civic body.

² Two of the most prominent Jews in Baltimore were Mr. Etting and Jacob I. Cohen, Jr., bankers. Mr. Cohen was the founder of the banking house of J. I. Cohen, Jr. and Bros., and one of the pioneer railroad financiers in America. He was a director of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, and took an active part in the establishment of the Baltimore public school system.

of God, the truth of the Protestant religion, or the Divine authority of either the Old or New Testaments. Although originally directed against the Roman Catholics, whom the good citizens of North Carolina greatly feared and abhorred, the clause, as far as the Catholics were concerned, at least, actually amounted to very little, for in 1781 a Catholic was elected governor of the state.

In 1809, however, the issue was brought to life again, when a Jew, by the name of Jacob Henry, was elected a member of the legislature, and a fellow-member asked that Henry vacate his seat because of his faith. Henry had no notion of giving in to the demands of the Protestant gentleman, and delivered a notable speech in the legislature defending his rights. After due deliberation the legislative body decided that the article prohibiting non-Protestants from holding office in any civil department in the state did not exclude them from serving in the legislature, because the legislative offices were above all civil offices. Thus, while a Jew could make the laws, he could not execute or interpret them.

The question was again debated at the convention which met in 1835 to amend the state constitution. Feeble efforts were made by the more liberal-minded of the delegates to abolish the entire article, but it all came to nothing as far as the Jews were concerned. The Catholics, however, scored a victory, for the word "Protestant" was taken out and the word "Christian" put in. The matter dragged on. In 1856 the small Jewish congregation at Wilmington, North Carolina, circulated a petition for the removal of all religious disabilities. Two years later a bill to the same effect was introduced in the legislature, but nothing happened. In 1861 when the state seceded and the constitution was changed, that stubborn, prejudicial clause remained unaltered. It was not until 1868 that Jewish emancipation was accomplished.³

³ To this day, "persons who shall deny the being of Almighty God" are debarred from holding office in North Carolina.

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WHAT WENT ON IN NEW YORK

The new tide of immigration, beginning with the defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo, brought new blood into the Jewish communities.⁴ The older Jewish settlements stirred themselves, grew larger, built new synagogues, laid the cornerstones of many present day institutions. By 1847 New York had 15,000 Jews and nine congregations. The Shearith Israel Congregation built itself a new synagogue on Mill Street, in 1818, and sixteen years later moved into a really magnificent structure on Crosby Street. The Congregation B'nai Jeshurun, using an English ritual, was formed in 1825. Jews poured out of Bavaria, and filled the ghettos of New York. The first German-Jewish congregation in New York—the Anshe Chesed—was organized in 1830; the second,—the Shaare Hashomayim—in 1836; and a third—the Rodeph Sholom—in 1842.

The Reform was beginning to raise its voice in these days. In 1845 the German Reform Temple Emanu-El was organized, with Dr. L. Merzbacher as its spiritual leader. A year later three of the German congregations united and asked Dr. Max Lilienthal⁵ to become their head at a salary of \$1,000 a year.

Between 1840 and 1848 the Jewish population in the United States grew from 15,000 to 50,000. During the same years seven new congregations were formed in New York: the Polish

⁴ The sudden demand for trans-Atlantic passage, and the consequent overcrowding and disease and death in the steerages of the sailing vessels, resulted in the first immigration law of 1819.

⁵ Dr. Max Lilienthal, who was destined to become one of the great leaders of the reform movement in America, had already made his mark in the Old World before coming to this country. He had come to Riga, Russia, in 1839, and three years later was chosen by the Czar Nicholas I of Russia head of the new school system in the Pale which the Russian government was sponsoring. What the Russian government had in the back of its head was the conversion of the Jews to Greek Catholicism. When the Jews got wind of this they turned bitterly upon Lilienthal. They accused him of being the tool of the Czar and practically drove the innocent man out of the country. Lilienthal came to America in 1845, and a year later held the first confirmation exercises in the United States.

congregations, Shaarey Tefilla and Beth Israel, in 1846; ⁶ the Bene Israel, a Dutch congregation, in 1847; the Bohemian Ahawath Chesed, in 1848; two German congregations, the Shaarey Rachamim and the Bikur Cholim, in 1849; and the Beth Abraham, another Polish congregation, in 1850.

The immigration from Russian-Poland increased heavily after 1845, as a result of the Jewish conscriptions into the Russian army. The first Russian-Jewish congregation in America was formed on June 4, 1852. The twelve original members soon grew to twenty-three, several of whom were German Jews. Their first synagogue was a small garret at 82 Bayard Street. The garret soon became crammed with worshippers, and the congregation moved to larger quarters. The members rented the first floor of a house on the corner of Canal and Elm Streets, and from there, six months later, they moved to the top floor of a former courthouse on the corner of Pearl and Center Streets. The congregation called itself the Beth Ha-Midrash and Rabbi Ash received two dollars a week for his services.

Things ran smoothly until 1855, when Rabbi Ash and Judah Middleman, a Talmudic scholar, had a heated dispute over the recognition of a *shochet*. As neither side would give in, Middleman and his followers withdrew and formed the congregation Bene Israel.

The Beth Ha-Midrash congregation held its services in the ex-courthouse, until one day, John Hart, a Portuguese Jew, having come to the Pearl Street synagogue to say *Kaddish*, told his friend Samson Simpson of a Welsh chapel on 78 Allen Street that would be ideal for a synagogue. Samson Simpson was pleased with the idea, and contributed \$3,000 towards the purchase of the chapel. In due time, the chapel was bought and converted into a synagogue. But before long Rabbi Ash had his hands full again. He got into another quarrel, and this time he left. With twenty-three followers he formed, in

⁶ The first Polish-Jewish congregation of New York—the Shaare Tzedek—was formed in 1839.

1859, the Beth Ha-Midrash Ha-Godol congregation, which met for worship on the top floor of a house on Forsyth and Grand Streets.

In the 30's, 40's, and 50's the rich Jews dwelt and worshipped on Crosby Street, and the poor on Elm Street. There were German congregations, Polish congregations, Russian, Dutch, Bohemian, Portuguese, and even a French congregation,—the Shaare Brocho—which was formed in 1851. The leading rabbis at this period were Jacques J. Lyons, of the Shearith Israel Synagogue from 1839 to 1877; Samuel M. Isaacs, son of a Dutch banker, who was called to the rabbinate of the B'nai Jeshurun congregation in 1839;⁷ Max Lilienthal, one of the most active spirits in the "Verein der Lichtfreunde," and later Rabbi of the congregation Bene Israel of Cincinnati; Morris J. Raphall, Rabbi of the congregation B'nai Jeshurun;⁸ and Dr. L. Merzbacher of Temple Emanu-El, who held pessimistic views upon the religious future of American Jewry.

The Jews of New York were growing in wealth as well as numbers. The Hendricks family made millions out of a large metal business. Samson Simpson was the first Jew to be admitted to the bar in 1802, and was the first Jewish graduate of Columbia. He was a man of great wealth, founded the Mt. Sinai Hospital, and gave to Jewish causes with a broad hand. Others of prominence were Mordecai Myers, a representative in the New York legislature in 1829; Henry Carroll Marks—known also as Dandy Marks—the best dressed man in New York; August Belmont, the most prominent New

⁷ The B'nai Jeshurun congregation then worshiped on Elm Street. When the members of the congregation formed the Shaarey Tefilla synagogue in 1847 Rabbi Isaacs assumed the pulpit of the new synagogue where he remained until his death in 1878. He was an able exponent of conservative Judaism and the founder of the "Jewish Messenger." Rabbi Isaacs was one of the first to introduce the English sermon into the synagogue.

⁸ Rabbi Morris J. Raphall was born in Sweden, but spent much of his time in England. He was an author and historian and received nation-wide publicity in 1860 for his bold and outspoken pro-slavery views.

Yorker of Jewish descent, and one of the greatest of American financiers;⁹ the Seligman brothers of banking fame; Jonah B. Phillips, dramatist and assistant district attorney; Samuel B. H. Judah, writer and barrister; Jacob Hays, head of the constabulary force for nearly fifty years; Lorenzo da Ponti, professor of Italian literature at Columbia from 1826 to 1837;¹⁰ and John Howard Payne, author of "Home, Sweet Home."¹¹

With the growth of immigration arose the need for charitable organizations. The Hebrew Benevolent Society was organized in 1824, and the German Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1845. The two organizations consolidated soon after into the Hebrew Benevolent and Orphan Asylum Society, and in 1860 an orphan asylum was opened on West Twenty-Ninth Street in Lamartine Place. The Mt. Sinai Hospital, known until 1871 as the Jew's Hospital, was incorporated in 1852, with Samson Simpson, its largest donor, as president. The Hebrew Mutual Benefit Society, organized in 1846, provided free burial, free medical attention, sick benefits, and annuities to widows of deceased members.

It was an era of organization. Lodges, orders, societies, grew up over night. In 1843 Henry Jones founded in New York the order of the B'nai Brith—the foremost of all Jewish societies.¹² The Independent Order of True Sisters followed in 1846; the Independent Order of Free Sons of Israel in 1849; and the Order of Brith Abraham in 1859. Organized in 1859, the Board of Delegates of American Israelites was an influential organization for nineteen years, fighting for the civil rights of Jews in America and abroad. The board was

⁹ August Belmont came to New York in 1837 as a representative of the Rothschilds. He was Consul-General from Austria and later became U. S. Minister to Holland.

¹⁰ Lorenzo da Ponti also introduced Italian opera into New York.

¹¹ John Howard Payne was the son of a Jewish mother.

¹² At first a humble outgrowth of the Hebrew Benevolent Society, the B'nai Brith now has hundreds of lodges all over the world, and its annual expenditures run into the millions. The chief aim of the order was, and still is, the union of Jews for the purpose of furthering education and elevating the aspirations of the race.

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dissolved in 1878 with the formation of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations.¹³

IN THE QUAKER CITY

Next to New York, Philadelphia, at this time, was the largest Jewish center in America. Here lived Isaac Leeser, Rabbi of the Mickveh Israel Congregation, a two-fisted man who fought the Reform toe to toe.

Leeser was born in Prussia in the year 1806. In May, 1824, he came to America and settled in Richmond. For five years he worked for his uncle, Zalma Rehine, and at times assisted Rabbi Isaac B. Seixas of the Portuguese congregation or taught religious classes. One day in 1828 he read an article about the Jews in *The London Quarterly*, and wrote an answer to it which appeared in *The Richmond Whig*. The article attracted the attention of many Jews throughout the country, and ultimately led to his being elected rabbi of the Mickveh Israel Congregation.

In 1829 young Leeser came to Philadelphia, took up his duties at the Mickveh Israel, preached his first English sermon in 1830, wrote his Hebrew Spelling Book and his Catechism, established *The Occident* and *The American Jewish Advocate*, and published his translation of the Bible which was, until recently, the authorized version for American Jewry.

Leeser was a tireless worker. The Hebrew Educational Society,¹⁴ the American Jewish Publication Society, the Jewish Hospital of Philadelphia, the Board of Delegates of American Israelites, the Board of Hebrew Ministers—all owed their creation largely to him.

¹³ The first officers of the Board of Delegates were Henry I. Hart, of New York, president; Rev. Isaac Leeser, of Philadelphia, vice-president; Gerson H. Herman of New York, treasurer; and Myer S. Isaacs of New York, secretary.

¹⁴ The Hebrew Educational Society was organized in 1849 for the purpose of establishing schools where elementary subjects, ancient and modern languages, and scientific subjects would be taught, together

Leeser retired from the Mickveh Israel pulpit in 1850. For the next seven years his pen was his mightiest weapon. *The Occident* carried his attack into the camp of the Reformers. The pulpit called him again in 1857, when his friends formed the Beth El Emet Congregation, and here he remained until his death on February 1, 1868.

Philadelphia's Jewry was growing up. Four new congregations were born in the 40's and 50's: the Beth Israel in 1840; the Keneseth Israel, a reform congregation, in 1847; the Beth El Emet, in 1857; and the Adatha Jeshurun, in 1859.

Philadelphia was not backward in institutional growth. In 1838 Rebecca Gratz founded the first Jewish Sunday School in the United States.¹⁵ She was superintendent of the Sunday School for twenty-six years, and was the moving spirit behind the Jewish Foster Home and Orphan Asylum of Philadelphia, organized in 1855.

Rebecca Gratz¹⁶ came of a family that distinguished itself in American life. Michael Gratz, her father, and Barnard, her uncle, figured prominently in the commercial life of Philadelphia. They were fur traders and large land owners. Hyman Gratz, one of Rebecca's brothers, left most of his estate towards the establishment of a Jewish teachers' college in Philadelphia. The Gratz College was founded in 1893, and is one of the best known Jewish institutions in the United States.

DOWN SOUTH

At one time Charleston, South Carolina, was one of the leading Jewish settlements in America. In 1794 the Jews of

with courses in Hebrew, literature, and religion. The society purposed also to establish a rabbinical college. The elementary school was opened in 1851, and the Maimonides College in 1867.

¹⁵ The Sunday School was conducted under the auspices of the Female Hebrew Benevolent Society, organized in 1819. The school opened up with fifty students.

¹⁶ Rebecca Gratz is said to have been the prototype of Rebecca in Scott's "Ivanhoe."

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Charleston built a \$20,000 synagogue, and some forty years later a new edifice was erected at a cost of \$40,000. When the Reform came to Charleston, a number of the more orthodox members withdrew and formed the Shearith Israel Congregation. This was in 1843. In 1866 the two congregations merged.

Isaac Harby, president of the Reform congregation, was a well-known writer and one of the most prominent men in Charleston during this period. Born in Charleston in 1788, Isaac studied law in his youth, but abandoned it for journalism. He was editor of *The Quiver*, *The Investigator*, *The City Gazette*, and *The Charleston Mercury*. He was a vice-president of the Hebrew Orphan Society of Charleston, and numbered Jefferson among his friends. In 1828 he moved to New York and contributed to *The Evening Post*. Death took him the same year, a man of forty.

Penina Moise, Charleston's most famous Jewish daughter, was born on April 23, 1797, and died in 1880. She came of distinguished Alsatian-French stock, and grew up in an atmosphere of culture and refinement. She was profoundly religious, had distinct literary talents, and wrote numerous poems, hymns, and anthems—many of which are used by congregations to this day. She was ill for many years and blind towards the end of her life. But suffering rather strengthened than weakened her faith in God and man, and brought her a measure of solace and peace comprehensible only to the deepest of religious natures.

The fifties came frothing at the mouth. The Jews went to the four corners of the land. There was a synagogue in Savannah, Georgia, in 1820. Jews came to Augusta in 1825 and organized the B'nai Israel congregation in 1846. They were a little slow in coming to New Orleans because of the "Black Code" which classed Jews with Negroes. This was while New Orleans was still under French rule.¹⁷

¹⁷ Judah Touro was probably the first Jewish settler in New Orleans. He was soon after followed by Alexander Isaacs and Asher Philips.

In Florida a certain David Yulee (originally Levy) attained high political honors. Born in St. Thomas, West Indies, in 1811, he studied law in Richmond, became a planter in Florida, and was a staunch supporter of slavery. He was a delegate to Congress from the Territory of Florida from 1841 to 1845. When Florida was admitted as a state in 1845 he became the first Jew to sit in the United States Senate. He was reelected in 1845 and resigned in 1861 when Florida seceded from the Union.

As early as 1814 the two Heymann brothers came to Louisville, Kentucky, and eighteen years later mention is made of a Jewish congregation in that southern metropolis. Jews came to Louisville in 1836 from Charleston and Baltimore, and later, direct from Germany. They bought a graveyard, built a *mickveh*, and hired a *shochet*. A few wealthy Jews came from Richmond, but they refused to mix with their poorer brethren, and were soon absorbed by the non-Jewish community. The Congregation Adath Israel was incorporated in 1842 with J. Dinkelspiel as its first rabbi. A synagogue was built in 1850 and a Hebrew school opened in 1854. Another congregation was chartered in 1851 under the name of "The Polish House of Israel" but changed its name in the following year to Bet Israel. The richest Jew in Louisville was a Nathan Bloom, a hustling merchant, and a millionaire many times over.

Jews drifted into Mobile, Montgomery, and Claiburn, Alabama. The Congregation Shaare Shamayim was formed in Mobile in 1844 by Israel I. Cohen. Two years later the first synagogue was dedicated there with Cohen as president.

Montgomery is said to have been founded by a Jew, Abraham Mordecai, who for fifty years dwelt among the Creek Nation, and believed that the Indians were originally his people. In 1846 twelve German and Polish Jews formed a society to

Morris Jacobs, Aaron Daniels, Asher Philips, and Abraham Green were officers of a benevolent society named Shaare Chesed. The first congregation adopted the name of the benevolent society and for many years worshiped in a room on the top floor of a building on St. Louis Street.

aid the sick, and three years later the Temple Beth Or or Kahal Montgomery was formed. There is a record of a congregation in Claiburn in 1855 but most of the Jews left the town.

WESTWARD HO!

The first Jew to settle in Cleveland was a Bavarian named Simson Thorman. He came there in 1837 and was soon joined by a fellow Jew, Aaron Leventrite. By 1839 there were already twenty Jews in Cleveland, and an Israelitish Society was organized. In 1842 the society split over some dissension, the seceding part forming the Anshe Chesed Society. They later made up, however, and reunited in 1846 under the latter name. A burial ground was bought in 1848, and the reform congregation Tifereth Israel was formed in 1848.

Although Jews had been living in St. Louis for more than thirty years, its first Jewish congregation was formed about the same time as the one in Cleveland. The Bloch or Block family of Bohemia, headed by Pioneer Wolf Block, settled in St. Louis in 1816, and Eliezer Block practiced law there five years later.

As most of the early arrivals intermarried with the Christians, more than two decades went by before a congregation was formed. On the Jewish New Year of 1836 ten men held religious services in a rented room above a grocery store on Second and Spruce Streets. Three years later the Achduth Israel congregation was formed.

The Etz Chaim congregation was formed in Pittsburgh in 1846. Twelve years afterwards the congregation split in two, the German element forming the congregation Rodof Sholom. The Hebrew Benevolent Society was organized in 1847.

The oldest congregation of Indiana is the Achduth ve Sholom of Fort Wayne, formed in 1848. A year later congregations were organized in Lafayette and Evansville. Moses Wolf, Alexander Franco, and Daniel Franco were the first Jewish

settlers in Indianapolis. They arrived from England in 1849, and were joined soon after by a family of Hungarian Jews named Kneffler. Adolph and Dr. J. M. Rosenthal came in 1854, and Herman Bamberger, who became a leading merchant, in 1855. The first congregation of Indianapolis was organized in 1856.

Farther to the north, in Minnesota, there were individual Jewish traders before the Civil War. The three Samuels brothers had an Indian trading post at Taylor Falls. In 1857 some Jews came to St. Paul, but there was no congregation.

When Austin's first colony of three hundred Americans came to the great raw hunk of land, known as Texas, in 1821,¹⁸ Samuel Isaacs, a Jew, was among them. He received a Spanish grant of land as a colonist and later received a bounty of three hundred and twenty acres in Polk County in return for his services in the army. When Abraham Cohen Labatt of Charleston visited Velasco, Texas, in 1831, he found two Jews there—Jacob Henry and Jacob Lyons. One of the first settlers in Nacogdoches¹⁹ was a Jew, Adolphus Sterne who came from New Orleans in 1824. He was sentenced to death for taking part in the Fredonian War against Mexico, but was saved by a general amnesty. When Texas became an independent republic in 1836, he served in both the lower and upper houses of the Texas congress. Another Jew, David S. Kaufman,²⁰ came to Texas in 1837, and in 1838 was elected a representative in the Texas congress. He was twice speaker of the House, member of the Texas Senate,²¹ and one of the first members of the United States Congress from Texas.

Jews played a prominent part in the early life of Texas. Among the Jews who helped her win her independence from Mexico were Albert Emanuel and Edward J. Johnson. Moses

¹⁸ Texas was then still a part of Mexico.

¹⁹ Dr. Joseph Hertz and his brother Hyman came to Nacogdoches in 1832, and Simon Schloss in 1836.

²⁰ Kaufman was born in Cumberland County, Pennsylvania, and was a graduate of Princeton.

²¹ He was elected to the Texas Senate in 1843, where he urged annexation with the United States.

Albert Levy served as Surgeon-General in Sam Houston's army throughout the Texas-Mexican war. Dr. Isaac Lyons, of Charleston, served as Surgeon-General in 1836 under General Tom Green. Leon and Isadore Dyer, natives of Germany, whose father established the first American meat-packing plant in Baltimore, were prominent in the war. Leon was Quartermaster-General in the Louisiana militia, and Major in the Texas forces. He also served on the guard which took General Santa Anna, the captive President of Mexico, from Galveston to Washington, D. C., in 1837.

The first Jewish cemetery in Texas was established in Houston in 1844, and the first synagogue in the state went up in Houston ten years later. The Jews of Galveston, Texas, acquired their first burial ground in 1852, and held their first religious services in the home of Solomon Dyer in 1856. San Antonio had a Jewish cemetery in 1854, but it was in the 70's before a synagogue was established. Castro County and Castroville were named after a French Jew, Henry Castro;²² while Jacob de Cordova founded several newspapers in Texas, laid out the city of Waco, and served in the legislature.

It was in this period that the war with Mexico broke out. This was the most unpopular war the United States ever fought, and although the Jewish population in the United States numbered about 50,000 in 1848, there were less than sixty Jewish soldiers in the war. Fifteen came from New York, five from Maryland, one each from New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and the remainder from the South, where the war was more popular.

Dr. David Camden de Leon, born in South Carolina in 1813, was the most prominent Jewish soldier in the war. He was a physician and a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania,

²² Henry Castro entered into a contract with President Sam Houston of Texas to settle a colony west of the Medina. Between 1843 and 1846 he sent to Texas about 5,000 immigrants from the Rhenish provinces in Germany.

and had served in the Seminole war of 1835-42. He earned the sobriquet of "the fighting doctor" in the war with Mexico, reached the rank of Major in 1856, and twice received the thanks of Congress for his bravery in action.²³ Among the other Jewish officers in the war were Henry Seeligsohn and Leon Dyer—both of whom had fought for the independence of Texas; Captain Michael Styfft, who served on the staff of General Zachary Taylor, and was later promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel; and Sergeant Abraham Adler, of the New York Volunteers, who fell in action.

This was a hectic period. War, expansion, colonization. Jews were hitting out in all directions.

A HAND ACROSS THE SEA

The Jew built temples, synagogues, institutions, industries. He was founding cities, breaking ground, making laws. He was growing prosperous and self-confident. Things looked bright.

Then one day came word from Damascus that thirteen Jews had been imprisoned and tortured on the preposterous charge of ritual murder. The American Jew was sorely troubled. His anger rose up against the ignorance and brutality of the Damascan authorities. He appealed to the United States government to help his unfortunate brethren abroad. This was the first time the American Jew had made such an appeal to the government, and it set an historic precedent.

Something had to be done and done quickly. The first meeting of Jews for the purpose of uniting in sending an expression of sympathy to their brethren in Damascus was held in New York on August 19, 1840.²⁴ At the same time a letter

²³ At the outbreak of the Civil War, Dr. de Leon joined the Confederate forces and organized the medical department, becoming the first Confederate Surgeon-General. His brother, Edward de Leon, a journalist and author, was named Consul-General to Egypt by President Pierce.

²⁴ Similar sympathy meetings were held in Philadelphia and Richmond.

was sent to President Van Buren, to which the Secretary of State answered as follows:

"... Our charge d'affaires at Constantinople was instructed to interpose his good offices on behalf of the oppressed and persecuted race of the Jews in the Ottoman Dominions, among whose kindred are found some of the most worthy and patriotic of our citizens. . . ."

The letter which John Glidden, Esq., American Consul to Alexandria, received, and which, indeed, had been sent out five days before the Jews had held their meeting in New York, ran in this fashion:

"Sir: In common with all civilized nations, the people of the United States have learned with horror of the atrocious crimes attributed to the Jews of Damascus, and the cruelties of which they have been the victims. The President fully participates in the public feeling, and he cannot refrain from expressing equal surprise and pain, that in this advanced age such unnatural practices could be ascribed to any portion of the religious world and such barbarous measures be resorted to, in order to compel the confession of imputed guilt; the offenses with which these unfortunate people are charged, resemble too much those which in less unenlightened times were made the pretexts of fanatical persecutions or mercenary extortion, to permit a doubt that they are equally unfounded.

"The President has witnessed with the most lively satisfaction, the effort of several of the Christian governments of Europe, to suppress or mitigate these horrors, and he has learned with no common gratification their partial success. He is moreover anxious that the active sympathy and generous interposition of the Government of the United States should not be withheld from so benevolent an object, and he has accordingly directed me to instruct you to employ, should the occasion arise, all those good offices and efforts which are compatible with discretion and your official character, to the end that justice and humanity

may be extended to these persecuted people, whose cry of distress has reached our shores." ²⁵

The excitement had hardly died down before another monster showed its head. In 1850 a treaty had been drawn up between the United States and the Swiss Republic, which contained a clause guaranteeing to Christians only the enjoyment of certain rights and privileges. President Fillmore objected to the treaty on the ground of the discriminating clause, and the Senate refused ratification. Meanwhile two cantons in Switzerland were trying desperately to expel their Jews.

Switzerland agreed to go half way. The clause was amended, and the treaty, although still discriminatory against the Jews, was ratified. Soon after this, A. H. Gottman, an American Jew, was ordered expelled from Switzerland. He asked the United States government to intervene against his expulsion. Theodore S. Fay, Secretary of State, refused to intervene. Public sentiment was aroused. Protest meetings were held and letters were sent to Washington. A delegation of prominent Jews went to the capital in October, 1857, and presented a memorial to President James Buchanan, who promised to remedy the wrong done to the Jews.

A long diplomatic conference followed. Switzerland maintained that the discriminating clause could not be removed without amending her constitution. . . . The constitution was amended in 1874. Meanwhile, President Lincoln had appointed a Jew, Mr. Bernays, Consul to Zurich.

At the crucial moment, America stood with the Jew.

²⁵ A letter breathing the same sentiments was sent to David Porter, United States Minister to Turkey, asking him to use all his endeavors to mitigate the sufferings of the Damascus Jews.

CHAPTER TEN

THE REFORM MOVEMENT

HOW THE REFORM BEGAN IN EUROPE

THE religion of the Jew is a hard, stubborn thing. It cannot be beaten down or driven out and adversity makes it only the stronger. Like a shadow, it follows him about wherever he goes. Thus, with the Sephardic Jew came rabbinical Judaism to America; and, with the German Jew, many years later, came the Reform. . . .

Reform Judaism had its beginnings in Germany, at a time when the walls of the ghetto were beginning to crumble away, and Europe trembled with the furious onslaught of a new spirit of freedom and learning. As out of a bad dream the Jews awoke, when the National Assembly of France declared them to be citizens of the country;¹ and they threw themselves with headlong abandon into the churning currents of the time. They read voraciously, and filled their intellectually starved souls with the culture and learning and thought they found everywhere about them. In the ghettos their mental food had been the legalistic and pedantic casuistry of the Talmud and the "Shulchan Aruk." Their minds, cramped and moulded by the ingenuities of pilpulism, expanded and reveled in the sudden contact with a living, pulsing, progressive world culture. The result was not only an intellectual revolution, but also, what is so often its complement, a religious revolt.

The rabbis of the old school were worried, and orthodox Jewry cast bitter glances at the strange, incomprehensible antics of the young, upstart co-religionists, who were trying, in some heretic way, to adjust age-old customs and ceremonial law to

¹ The Bavarian Republic, four years later, in 1795, made a similar enactment.

the changing fashions of the times. They could not understand that rabbinical Judaism with its insistence on casuistical intricacies had no appeal or meaning to the younger and more vividly minded of them; and that the service in the synagogue, with its sale of *mitzvoth*, and its disorder, was repellent and distasteful. A breach and a struggle were inevitable. Orthodoxy shrouded itself in its *talith*, and clung tenaciously to the tenets of talmudic theology; reform tore from itself the ancient bindings, and struck out for a way to revive for itself the old religion, to make of it a living thing, a contemporary thing, a beautiful thing.

Among the first to cut away at the old foundations was Israel Jacobson, a wide traveller, and a man of action. All about him he saw religious chaos and a widening breach. Cultured Jews, dissatisfied with the lifeless formalism of the synagogue, its endless liturgy and indecorum, were, many of them, turning to Christianity, and Jacobson was fired with the conviction that Judaism must be made attractive for the enlightened classes, if it were to live. Though not a scholar himself, he knew that religious progress must come through the schools. In the year 1808, when western Germany fell before the might of France, and German Jews received full rights of citizenship, he founded a modern school at Seesen, and another at Cassel. On Saturday mornings services were held in the chapel of the school, where addresses in the vernacular were delivered, and German hymns were sung with great gusto. The first decisive blow at the old order had been delivered and Jacobson, elated with the success of it, laughed tradition in the face. He built at Seesen a temple, and fitted it out with an organ and a choir. The dedication was a glorious affair. Enthusiasm ran high. Professors and Christian clergymen made congratulatory speeches, and called the event the Festival of the Jewish Reformation. All felt that a new era of enlightenment was beginning for the Jew; that he was shaking himself loose from the shackles of the centuries; that he was becoming a man, a living man, among men.

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But these early reformers did not, in their fresh and fervent enthusiasm, penetrate beneath the surface of things. Orthodox service had become for many an ugly thing. This seemed to them its chief fault; and reform busied itself with making the service a more beautiful thing, a more artistic expression of a religious faith. To a great extent, early reform was an æsthetic revolt—nothing more; and herein lay its weakness. German was substituted for jargon, and even Hebrew. Rabbi David Hirschel Frankel preached three German sermons in the synagogue of Berlin on the victories of Frederick the Great at Rossbach and Leuthen and the treaty of peace at Hubertsberg. What a difference between this and talmudic expostulation! Here was something the younger generation understood; here was religion reaching out beyond the narrow confines of the ghetto, reaching out until it touched and identified itself with a world of thought and movement and progress. Young hands seized the old forms, and moulded them this way and that, until they fashioned for themselves newer forms which should give them sustenance, and bring them nearer to their world and to God.

If its beginnings were humble, the Reform movement grew with the years. Its sparks of discontent fell everywhere, and the dry props of Orthodoxy burst into flames. The conflagration spread over the whole of Europe,² and Prometheus brought a fiery brand to America.

These young reformers fought like tigers. But Orthodoxy was no weakling. It showed its teeth. It appealed to the government to suppress the reformers, with the result that in 1817 all private synagogues were ordered to be closed. The struggle between the old and the new took on a grim, determined ferocity, and each had recourse, from time to time, to

² From Westphalia, in 1815, came Israel Jacobson to Berlin, and held services in his own home, while the organ played, and the choir sang, and a sermon was read in the vernacular. Soon, Jacob Herz Beer, a wealthy banker, and father of the celebrated composer, Meyerbeer, instituted a similar service in his own home, and hundreds of Berlin's cultured Jewry flocked to the makeshift synagogues to pray.

the civil government for aid. The orthodox party finally appealed to the king and solicited from him a decree ordering "that the divine services of the Jews must be conducted in accordance with the traditional ritual and without the slightest innovation in language, ceremonies, prayers, or songs."³ The private temples were closed, and the Reform, temporarily beaten, lay smouldering in Prussia, but determined to assert itself with an even greater fury when the time came. The victory of the orthodox party was, however, a dubious one. Jews, in great numbers, dissatisfied more than ever with rabbinical Judaism, became converted to Christianity; while a smaller group, brooding over their defeat, grew suddenly strong with a new realization that reform must come from within; that Jews and non-Jews must be made acquainted with the meaning of Judaism; that a new start must be made whose foundations would go deep into the soil of Judaism, and whose basis would be "die Wissenschaft des Judenthums." The Science of Judaism!—this was now the motto and the watchword of the Reform. Under the leaderships of Geiger, Holdheim, Einhorn, Philippson, Stein, and Hirsch the revolt took on new meaning. Leopold Zunz, a great Jewish scholar, delved deep into history, and grew gloriously articulate with the discovery that Judaism was a living thing, constantly changing its outer forms to meet the demands of the shifting times. Therefore "no one had the right to prohibit the introduction of new prayers," for "from the time of the Great Synod to the present day the Jewish liturgy has been constantly enriched by Sopherim, Sanhedrical authorities, teachers of the Mishna, Amoraim, Gaonim, Paitanim, and rabbis, by poets, cantors, congregational leaders, cabalists. . . . The most important part in the service consists in return . . . from the dead to the living form. Hence resistance to reforms . . . is to be looked for from prejudice and ignorance rather than from true insight."⁴

In Hamburg feeling ran high, and religious controversy was

³ This decree was issued December 9, 1823.

⁴ Leopold Zunz, "Gottesdienstliche Vorträge," pp. 447 ff.

in a great ferment of denunciation and invective. Rabbi Moses Sofer flew into a great fury and belabored the revolting party with cries of "infidel" and "foxes which destroy the vineyards"; while Marcus Benedikt, chief rabbi of Moravia, proclaimed the Hamburg reformers "neither Christians nor Jews, but people without faith." But the reform leaders could not be shouted down. The temple in Hamburg became the stronghold of the Reform; while in Westphalia, Chief Rabbi Joseph Abraham Friedlander, ignoring even the governmental restrictions, introduced into the synagogue a number of radical changes.⁵

As the years raced by a new set of reform leaders grew up who threw themselves into the conflict with a fresh vigor, and grappled desperately for a way to bring the old faith into harmony with a modern world. "We wish to be, we should be children of our time," they cried out, "and as children of this age we must try to realize for our contemporaries the true standpoint of Judaism, which has never been content to be a faith divorced from life or a practice at variance with belief." The fiery utterances of Geiger, Einhorn, and Philippson rallied men and women around the standard of Reform. They hacked away at old growths that were sapping the strength of the parent-growth. They trimmed the lamp so it might burn the brighter. . . .

Abraham Geiger, born at Frankfort-on-the-Main, on May 24, 1810, was the dominant spirit of the reform movement in Germany. Erudite, profound, a deep scholar, he was a master of Jewish sources, a keen investigator, and a fighter. To him, Judaism presented a clear picture of an evolutionary process, the Talmudic period being not the end-all but only a phase in the history of Judaism. He attacked the problem with a

⁵ Before he died, Friedlander declared, "Thought cannot be checked. It progresses. Those who advocate the principle of progress in all other directions cannot possibly expect that in religious matters alone antiquated notions should rule. If we refuse to reform our faith in accordance with the culture of the time we will force an even greater number of the present generation . . . to become hypocrites or to find their faith uncongenial."

scientific directness and precision. "Salvation," he wrote, "lies not in the violent and reckless excision of everything which has descended to us from the past, but in the careful research into its deeper meaning, and in the aim to develop historically that which has grown historically . . . checking here, helping forward there . . . and constantly furthering its development with steadfast purpose."⁶

The fourth and fifth decades of the nineteenth century seethed with religious polemic. The life of the Jews was assuming a broader sweep now, and those who rushed out of the ghettos and found themselves suddenly in a new world, could find no meaning or guidance in medieval Judaism. So they cracked the hard, legalistic shell of Orthodoxy, and built a new temple about an old and glorious faith.

THE REFORM IN AMERICA

In the year 1824, forty-seven members of the congregation Beth Elohim of Charleston, South Carolina, being dissatisfied with the services, memorialized the vestry to have the ritual reformed. These demands, being ignored by the vestry, twelve of the forty-seven dissenting members founded a new congregation, on the twenty-first of November, 1824, which they called "The Reformed Society of Israelites." Radical changes were introduced at once. Prayers were read in English as well as Hebrew, and hymns were sung in the vernacular. The service was shortened; certain ceremonies were eliminated; the sections of the Maimonidean creed that declared the belief in the coming of the Messiah, the bodily resurrection, and the personal leader, were omitted; instrumental music was introduced; and the congregation worshipped with uncovered heads. But there was no Geiger here, or a Holdheim, or a Stein; no dominant, fiery, prophetic spirit; no trained men to probe origins, no leader to inspire or direct or command. So the

⁶ Geiger, "Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift fuer judische Theologie," I, 2.

Charleston reformed congregation, the first in America, carried on a few years, struggled desperately against opposition from without, and then gave up.

Some eight years later, in 1836, there came to Charleston, as preacher and reader of the congregation Beth Elohim, the Rev. Gustav Poznanski, who, while in Hamburg, had been fired by the spirit of reform; and when, in 1838 a new synagogue was being erected in the place of the old one which had been destroyed by a great fire, and thirty-eight members petitioned that an organ be placed in the new structure, Poznanski gave his consent. A bitter struggle followed, but the reform element was victorious. The second day holidays were abolished, and other minor reforms were introduced into the service.

It was not, however, until 1840 that the reform movement in America, manifesting itself first as a hybrid growth within the orthodox synagogue, and then as a larval substructure in the "Reform-Vereine," was really launched under way. In April of 1842, a group of young men banded themselves together, adopted the Hamburg prayerbook for their services, and created the Har Sinai Reform Congregation of Baltimore. Three years later the Emanu-El Congregation was formed in New York, and grew to be the largest reform congregation in the land.

Other reform congregations followed in quick succession. In the temple at Albany, under the inspired leadership of its minister, Isaac Mayer Wise, a mixed choir, family pews, and the confirmation ceremony were introduced. In 1854 and 1855 the congregations Bene Yeshurun and Bene Israel, of Cincinnati, were moved to reform by the tremendous utterance of Wise and Max Lilienthal. In Philadelphia the reform met stubborn opposition, for here reigned the Rev. Isaac Leeser, Goliath of American Orthodoxy. But the spirit of reform swept into Philadelphia despite Leeser, and here, in the very stronghold of traditional Judaism, there rose up a handful of dissenters, who organized a "Reform-Gessellschaft." In 1856 this small band of men united with one of the more liberal congregations

of the city—the Keneseth Israel, and from this union there sprang the present Keneseth Israel Reform Congregation.

In 1858 some members of the Anshe Maariv congregation of Chicago, being dissatisfied with the services, formed a society which they called the “Reformverein.” Two years later, inspired by the zeal and earnestness of Rabbi B. Felsenthal,—its secretary, and later its first rabbi—the society formed itself into the Sinai congregation. This was in 1860.

The Reform grew, and flourished, and spread over the whole country. Earnest men, dissatisfied with conditions in Europe, came to America, and cut new channels for deep streams of religious thought and conduct. In 1845 came Max Lilienthal, a tireless, inspired worker, who felt keenly the need for reform. For several years a rabbi of three orthodox congregations of New York City, he gave up his posts to take up the cudgels for reform. He was active in organizing the “Verein der Lichtfreunde”; opened a school; wrote stirring articles for *The Asmonean* and *The Israelite*; and in 1855 became rabbi of the Congregation Bene Israel. He was a bitter foe of religious hypocrisy, for which he blamed traditional theology more than man. “We are tired of seeing men,” he cried out, “violating the Sabbath . . . and calling themselves orthodox nevertheless; we are disgusted at seeing men transgressing every religious ceremony in public life, and yet clothing themselves with the halo of sanctification. We wish to see this contradiction solved; we wish to know when religious ceremonies have to yield to the necessities of life. . . . In a word, we wish to know what in our law is God’s command and what is the transient work of man. . . .” The answer to it all is Reform. “Reform has tried and tries to raise the dignity of our worship. . . . Reform tries to find a remedy for all these abuses and to make the house of the Lord a house of true prayer and devotion. . . .”

David Einhorn was one of the leading spirits of Reform in Germany. When he came to America, dissatisfied with the conditions in Europe, he threw himself at once into the vortex

of religious controversy, and became one of the most fearless and radical of the American reformers. He spoke with a fire and conviction that startled his hearers into an immediate awareness of the meaning and need for reform. In his inaugural address before the Har Sinai Congregation in Baltimore, he drew in bold relief his conceptions of Judaism. Although man will never be able to dispense altogether with the visible signs of religion, "the expression and form of these must necessarily change with different stages of culture, national customs, industrial, social, and civil conditions, in short with the general demands of the inner and outer life."

A thorough student and scholar, and an active participant in the German rabbinical conferences of the fifth decade, Samuel Adler came to New York from Alzey in 1857, and preached before the congregation of Temple Emanu-El for nineteen years. He saw Judaism hesitant at the crossroads, and called out for it to take the path of Reform: "Our situation is like unto that of the Israelites immediately after their deliverance from Egypt. Behind us lies Egypt, the Middle Ages, before us the sea of Talmudic legalism, whereof it may truly be said, all streams and rivulets discharge themselves into the sea. . . . Let, then, the rod be raised to cleave it! Backwards we cannot go, to stand still means death. Then let us forward, forward across the sea. Reason holds the rod, reason is the leader. The Torah calls itself our wisdom and our understanding in the eyes of nations. A violent east wind is being wafted, and dries up the sea in this land of wisdom. The spirit dwelling here in the West, the spirit of freedom, is the newly-born Messiah."

A more active spirit was Bernard Felsenthal, rabbi and leader of the Sinai and Zion reform congregations of Chicago. Relentless and tireless in his attack and exposure of Orthodox abuses, an iconoclast and terrific fighter, his vitriolic pen was mighty in the cause of the Reform. In the pamphlet "Kol Kore Bamidbar," which he addressed to the friends of Reform in the year 1859, he issued a forceful challenge which could

not be ignored. Tear down the old structures! Root up the old growths! Clear the ground for new structures! But what shall be built up? What shall be constructed anew? "The inner, deep-seated belief in God, the moral sense in all the relations of life, the attachment to a love for Judaism, the teaching of Moses freed from all heathenism and foolishness; with this must be combined the excision of all statutes and observances intended for other times, places, and conditions."⁷

Destruction of the old is only a means to an end. Felsenthal is an iconoclast because he is a builder. ". . . we recognize our mission to consist much more in nurturing and building up than in abolishing and removing. Doctrines which we have recognized as true, but which have lost in great part their hold on our contemporaries, must be implanted anew and more firmly; institutions which have a hallowing influence on the religious nature, and which are likely to enhance the religious life, must be retained, suitably changed, or, when necessary, created anew, according to the needs and circumstances."⁸

Although he did not come to America until 1866, Samuel Hirsch, student and philosopher, became one of the leading spirits of the reform in the United States. Of a keen, analytical mind, he plumbed the depths of Jewish thought and tradition, and in his various books⁹ he expounded his views on religion and Judaism and interpreted the meanings and symbols of its ceremonies and laws. The need of the time is the highest law in Judaism, and all ceremonies "are but means for the fulfillment of this highest law; the means must however everywhere be subservient to the end, therefore also in Judaism." Nothing must be permitted to stand between the individual and his civil and social obligations to the state. "It is a serious misdemeanor against . . . the spirit of Judaism if any-

⁷ Kol Nidre Bamidbar, p. 1.

⁸ Ibid., p. 11.

⁹ "Die Religions-philosophie der Juden" (Leipzig, 1842), "Die Messiahslehre der Juden in Kanzelvortragen" (Ibid., 1843), "Das Judenthum, der christliche Staat und die moderne Kritik" (Ibid., 1843), "Die Humanität als Religion" (Trier, 1854).

thing be retained which in any way prevents us from the fulfillment of duties incumbent upon the citizen as such." The Jew must be a world citizen, and must participate in the work of his age with all his powers; "for this work is the object of Jewish history . . . the be-all and the end-all of Judaism. . . . He may not be a mere spectator of the work of the modern age, but must give himself heart and soul to it, for this is the command of the God of his fathers, who only wish to have right and love realized on earth, and therefore called Abraham from the other side of the river, and desired to make him and his descendants a blessing for the world through their deeds and their sufferings."¹⁰

Such were the beginnings of the Reform movement in America, and such its leaders. But do not think that Orthodoxy lay silent all this time. It too had its fighters and its orators. Reform was on the offensive, Orthodoxy on the defensive. What it sought to defend was Jewish unity, for at its heart was a wild fear that in Reform lay the ruin of Judaism.

The story of the Reform is a story of men struggling desperately for a firmer hold on a faith that was slipping away from them. Essentially it is the story of one man, whose whole life is inextricably interwoven and one with the Reform movement in America—Isaac Mayer Wise.

ISAAC MAYER WISE

On the twenty-ninth day of March, 1819, in the little village of Steingrub, Bohemia, there was born to Leo and Regina Wise a son, Isaac. The family was very poor. The father was a *melammed*, and earned barely enough to feed the hungry mouths at home. At the age of four, young Isaac was already a student in his father's *cheder*, and as soon as he could read he began to intone the sonorous syllables of the Talmud. He was a precocious student, and his father, realizing that there

¹⁰ Hirsch, "Die Reform in Judenthum," Leipzig, 1844, pp. 67-69.

was little he could teach him, sent him to live with his grandfather, Dr. Isaiah, at Durmaul, where he attended the Jewish day school. When the boy was twelve, his grandfather died. By this time Isaac had made up his mind to become a rabbi; so he set out for Prague, which was then the center of Jewish learning. Here he attended the Jewish school called the *beth-hamidrash*, which adjoined the Alt-Neu-Schul, the famous synagogue of Prague, and lived the life of a poor *yeshivah bochur*. Several years ran by, and in 1835 Isaac found himself in Jenikau, where he attended the famous rabbinical school conducted by Rabbi Aaron Kornfeld, a man of liberal and progressive ideas, who opposed the prevailing method of hair-splitting Talmudic disputation, and recommended to his scholars the study of geography, history, and mathematics. In Jenikau Wise became befriended by the sons of Jonathon Altar, the local rabbi, and from them he learned of Goethe, and Schiller, and Herder, and became absorbed in the best German literature of the day. But his stay in Jenikau was comparatively short, for in July of 1837 the government decreed that certain courses at the gymnasium and the university were compulsory for rabbinical students, and Wise, packing up his few belongings, went back to Prague, where he successfully passed the necessary courses in his nineteenth year. After some years of hardship and struggle, he enrolled in the University of Prague, where he stayed for two years, and then attended the University of Vienna for a year. In the year 1842, at the age of twenty-three, he came before the *Beth Din*, passed a creditable examination and received from the rabbinical court the title of Rabbi. . . .

One day the congregation at Radnitz, a small town near Pilsen, Bohemia, requested Soloman Judah Rappaport, the Chief Rabbi of Prague, to send them a competent man who could officiate as rabbi; whereupon Rappaport replied that he had just the man for them, a "new light"; and on the twenty-sixth of October, 1843, Isaac Mayer Wise preached before the "large and highly respectable" Radnitz congregation his in-

augural sermon. In the next year he married at Grafenried a former pupil, Theresa Bloch; and on February 22, 1846—three months after the birth of a daughter, Emily—Wise set sail from Bremerhaven and arrived, after a stormy voyage of sixty-three days, at New York,¹¹ with little money, but a fund of grim determination to liberate the Jew from his narrow environment, and to make him a citizen of the community in which he lived.

Once in New York, he searched out some physicians to whom he had brought letters of introduction. When he told them of his dream and of his chosen mission, they laughed at him, and advised him like a good friend to take to peddling or learn a trade instead.¹² But he scorned the well-intended advice of the physicians, and went instead to see Dr. Lilienthal, who received the young reformer with open arms and encouraged him to do battle for his cause.¹³

¹¹ The raucous, clamorous, confused greeting of the New World jostled him out of his philosophic reverie. "The whole city," he wrote in his "Reminiscences" (p. 18), "appeared to me like a large shop where everyone buys or sells, cheats or is cheated. I had never known before a city so bare of all art and every trace of good taste; likewise I had never witnessed anywhere such rushing, hurrying, chasing, running. In addition to this there was the crying, blowing, clamoring, and other noises of the fishmongers, milkmen, newsboys, etc. . . . All this shocked my æsthetic sense beyond expression. In the first few days I heard the sound of music but once in the street. This was produced by a wandering mediocre Bohemian band which thundered Turkish music. . . . Everything seemed so pitifully small and paltry; and I had had so exalted an idea of the land of freedom that New York seemed to me like a lost station by the sea; on the first day I longed to be away from the city."

¹² There were at this time three German officiating rabbis in America: Dr. Max Lilienthal and Dr. Leo Merzbacher, in New York, and the Rev. Gustav Poznanski, in Charleston, S. C.; and in all but the three congregations—the Beth Elohim of Charleston, the Har Sinai at Baltimore, and the Temple Emanu-El of New York—the strictest Orthodoxy prevailed, with the same lack of decorum and discipline, the same rigidity of custom, the same confusion of the *mi-sheberachs* and the *mitzvoth* as existed in Europe.

¹³ "In the morning I went to Eldridge Street, stopped at a small house, and rang the bell very timidly. A man in a dressing gown with a black velvet cap on his head opened the door. 'I would like to speak to Dr. Lilienthal.' 'I am he; step in.' We stepped into a rear room which was his library. 'I come from Bohemia; here is a letter from Dr. W., your school friend, and here are some of my papers,'

The early days in New York were hard ones for Wise. He tutored for his daily bread; then came the chance to dedicate a synagogue in New Haven, Connecticut, and another at Syracuse, and to preach a sermon before the Beth El congregation of Albany. These experiences in New Haven, Albany, and Syracuse, stirred him deeply. "These German immigrants," he mused, "have not let their love for Judaism die under the influence of their new political and social conditions. . . . They form congregations, build synagogues, and feel a longing for the living word. . . . There are life and energy in this new Judaism whether it now be conscious or unconscious. The people lack culture; they do not possess a true appreciation of the conditions among which they live. 'Tis well I have found my vocation and mission."¹⁴

The Beth El congregation of Albany had been evidently well pleased with the eloquent young man, for despite the opposition of the cantor, who was reader, teacher, butcher, and grave-digger as well, Wise was unanimously elected rabbi, at the salary of two hundred and fifty dollars a year. In the following year, however, his salary was increased to four hundred dollars, and this, together with the profits from his school, enabled him to live fairly comfortably.

Wise was by nature bold and aggressive, and self-confidence buoyed him up to a constant fighting pitch. ". . . I came among these people (the Albany congregation) with a consciousness of independence and mastery which never deserts me, and with ideas on religion . . . so radically different from theirs, that struggle and ill feeling were bound to ensue. . . . Being by nature fiery, earnest, and fearless, I gave expression

Dr. Lilienthal read the letter and the first of the twelve documents I had given him. . . . Turning to me, he gave me a friendly and hearty *Sholem Alechem*, Peace be upon thee. 'Hold up your head, courage,' cried he, 'you are the man, we need you.' In short, Dr. Lilienthal was the first one to encourage me and inspire me with hope, and at that time this was of prime importance and significance to me . . . the impression I received in the Lilienthal home perhaps decided my career in America." (Remin., p. 22.)

¹⁴ Reminiscences, p. 37.

recklessly to all my principles and views, for which the majority of my hearers could by no possible manner have been ripe and ready. . . . Old conditions had to be overcome and new ones had to be created, and antiquated abuses had to be corrected."

Synagogal reform began almost at once; for "the act," said Wise "must accompany the spoken word." He organized and trained a mixed choir; introduced a weekly sermon; cut out certain traditional Hebrew prayers from the service; and modified the prevailing customs. Of course there was opposition from within the congregation, as well as from without; "but the opposition was outvoted, although it was impossible to silence it." Isaac Leeser, editor of *The Occident* (the only Jewish paper in America) and the leader of Orthodox Jewry in America, rose up against Wise and his reforms and articles, pro and con, flew thick and fast from the pens of Wise and Leeser in the journals of the latter.

About this time, in 1848, Wise began his agitation for a union of American Israelites, and curiously enough, enlisted the sympathies of the cautious Leeser. The pages of the *Occident* rang out these days with fervent appeals for Jewry to stand together, "to be united as one man, to be linked together by the ties of equal views concerning religious questions. . . . We ought to have a uniform system for our schools, synagogues, benevolent societies, for all of our religious institutions. Let us now direct our attention to the country where we live and the circumstances in which we are placed."¹⁵ Wise clutched American Jewry by the shoulder, and shook a warning finger in its face. "What will become of our synagogues? What of our youth? You see we have no system for our worship, nor for our ministry and schools, and we are therefore divided in as many fragments as there are congregations in North America. It is lamentable, but true, that if we do not unite ourselves betimes to devise a practicable system for the ministry and religious education at large, if we do not take care that better

¹⁵ *Occident*, vol. 6, pp. 431-435.

educated men fill the pulpit and the schoolmaster's chair, if we do not stimulate all the congregations to establish good schools and to institute a reform in their synagogues on modern Jewish principles, the house of the Lord will be desolate or nearly so in less than ten years . . . something must be done to defend and maintain our sacred faith. . . . Everything can be done if we are united before God."¹⁶ But Jewry was stolid, indifferent, cold. The East shrugged its shoulders and would have nothing of Wise and his far-fetched plans. When New York laughed, and Dr. Lilienthal asked Wise what he intended to do, the gloom and depression which enshrouded him was sunnied by a prophetic utterance: "As truly as I am a son of a Jewish mother, I shall divide this American Judaism into two inimical camps, and they shall overcome the abominable indifference, repair the damages, and achieve the triumph of a new life by fight and struggle." And so it was.

The depression and disappointment of defeat did not easily leave him. He became lethargic, took little interest in Jewish affairs, and wrote very little for *The Occident*. He broke into a bit of his old enthusiasm when, in October of 1849, there appeared in New York City a Jewish weekly, *The Asmonean*, published and edited by Robert Lyon, an English Jew, "devoted to the advocacy of a congregational union of Israelites of the United States." But his heart was heavy, and he hid himself from the world. "I sit again in my solitary closet," he wrote, "behind barricades of vast tomes of antiquity and study restless dead letters, to forget the living presence, to forget the shame and disappointment which I experienced. I will continue to forget myself, to subdue, and to bury my wishes, but with the glorious triumph of union I will triumph . . . and with American Israelites I will rejoice. . . ."

Dissensions within the congregation . . . illness . . . disappointment . . . the death of his second child, Laura . . . melancholia. Doctors advised a southern trip, for his cough was getting worse. In New York he called on Lilienthal, they

¹⁶ *Occident*, vol. 6, pp. 431-435.

exchanged sad experiences, and Lilienthal commented bitterly: "There is no help for you. If you want to be the Christ you must expect to be crucified. I will not. I shall do something else for a living." Broken in spirit, Lilienthal left the ministry shortly after this conversation, and opened a school for the young.

From New York Wise went to Philadelphia, where Leeser told him that he was working on an English translation of the Hebrew Bible. Then Wise left for Washington, and while there was invited to address the reform congregation of Charleston, South Carolina, whose members complained bitterly to him of the terrible attacks that Dr. Raphall was making upon Reform. Wise came to Charleston, and he worsted the hot-blooded doctor in a debate, and somehow or other his illness left him, and he returned to Albany in high spirits. He turned down, at this time, after some deliberation, the invitation to become rabbi of the Beth Elohim congregation of Charleston, and accepted the reelection at Albany. Louis Spanier, president of the congregation, and arch-enemy of Wise, withdrew from the synagogue, and in July, 1850, brought two sets of charges against Wise, declaring him to be an apostate and heretic, for, among other things, he had denied the coming of the Messiah and the bodily resurrection, had declared all prayer in Hebrew to be but a superstitious performance, had called all ceremonies like the wearing of *tephilin* and *tzitzith* superfluous and unnecessary, had been seen writing on Rosh Hashonah in an Odd Fellow's lodge, and had ridiculed the women's ritual bath. At a special meeting called by Spanier, and the trustees, on September 5th, the contract between Wise and the congregation was declared void; and two days later, when he entered the synagogue to officiate at the New Year's service, he found his seat on the platform occupied by one of Spanier's friends. "Everything was quiet as the grave. Finally the choir sings Sulzer's great 'En Komochu.' At the conclusion of the song I stepped before the ark to take out the scrolls of the law as usual and to offer prayer. Spanier steps in my way and with-

out saying a word smites me with his fist so that my cap falls from my head. This was the signal for an uproar, the like of which I never experienced. The people acted like furies. . . . Within two minutes the whole assembly was a struggling mass. I finally reached home bowed with pain and inexpressible grief. The constable came and arrested me as the ringleader of a rebellious mob at a public service. This victory of orthodoxy proved its grave wherein it was buried.”¹⁷

The upshot of it all was that the synagogue was closed by the sheriff on Rosh Hashonah to prevent further breaches of the peace, and the court awarded Wise one thousand dollars in damages.¹⁸ Before another week had passed his friends had organized a new congregation, The Anshe Emeth (Men of Truth), rented rooms on the upper floor of a building, and here were held the services of Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement. He never forgot this day, for it etched itself deep and clear in his memory. “A spirit of devotion and exaltation . . . pervaded the assembly. . . . A band of courageous and spirited champions of progressive Judaism . . . had arisen out of the defeat which we had suffered. On that Yom Kippur day I saw American Judaism arise out of the grave to go forth to ever new triumphs, and it has not deceived me in my expectations.”¹⁹

The new congregation—the fourth in number of reform congregations, but the first genuinely active one—flourished and grew. Its membership steadily increased, and in 1851 it acquired for itself one of the largest churches in Albany. It was furnished with an organ; family pews where men and women could sit together; schoolrooms, and a vestry room. The temple became the center of progressive Judaism in America, and from its pulpit thundered the doctrine of the Reform.

From now on there came to Wise a greater peace of mind, and a period of brisk literary activity. Although in *The Occi-*

¹⁷ Remin., p. 165.

¹⁸ Wise never sought to collect these damages.

¹⁹ Remin., p. 174.

dent of July, 1851, he had written, "I shall henceforth pursue my way without journals," he accepted charge, in the following year, of the theological and philosophical department of *The Asmonean*, deeming it his duty "to inform the public of the leading principles which will guide me in my task." During the eighteen months that he was connected with *The Asmonean*, his cry for the cause of reform was heard above all others and its incessant reverberations echoed in the ears of all Jewry. What ought to be done? What ought to be done? "The whole divine worship must be improved, the antiquated chants must be abolished, the young must be instructed in the principles of Judaism. The living word must be restored to the temple of Israel. . . . We demand the respect of society for us and our institutions . . . the respect of the nation of which we are citizens. . . ." ²⁰

About this time, in September, 1853, while Wise was busy with the publication of his first book—*The History of the Israelitish Nation from Abraham to the Present Time*—he received a letter from the secretary of the Bene Yeshurun congregation of Cincinnati asking him whether he would accept election as rabbi of that congregation. His answer was short, immediate, and to the point. On April 19, 1854, the last day of Passover, he delivered his farewell address before the congregation of Anshe Israel. "It was a day of mourning; I was attached to Albany with all the fibres of my heart. It was my first home in the new world. . . . Every child, every tree was dear to me, but my school days were over, I had to go out into the world." ²¹ So out into the world he went, this dreaming, fighting idealist, and on the 26th day of April, 1854, he arrived in Cincinnati. He sensed keenly the new step he was taking, and was sharply aware of its significance, for again he writes,—and the thought seems to electrify him: "The school days are over; I am entering upon life a second time. A new

²⁰ *Asmonean*, vol. 6, Dec. 10, 1852.

²¹ *Remin.*, p. 251.

chapter of my biography is opened; what lies hidden in the lap of the future?" . . .

The Lodge Street Synagogue, at the time Wise took up his duties in Cincinnati, was quite orthodox. It had no organ or choir, the members observed the first and second days of each holiday and worshipped with covered heads. But with Wise came change and reform. The congregation saw the *Piutim*, the liturgical poems, part of the ritual, and the sale of the *mitzvoth* cut away before their eyes. Within a few months a choir was being trained, and an organ was installed. Wise was the only rabbi in Cincinnati, at this time, although it had a Jewish population of some four thousand souls, and his sermons were becoming so popular, that the older congregation, Bene Israel—the mother congregation of western Jewry—being without a minister, and finding itself losing ground, appealed to the young reformer to come and be its rabbi. The Bene Yeshurun congregation objected to such an arrangement, however, and although Wise would not become the regular rabbi of Bene Israel congregation, he did perform temporarily all the rabbinical functions and preached there every Saturday afternoon. He continued this double activity until May, 1855, when, at his suggestion and recommendation, his good friend, Dr. Max Lilienthal, was elected rabbi of the Bene Israel congregation.

In order to attract his congregation to the temple on days when the strict observance of the Sabbath was at low ebb, Wise instituted Friday night services and in 1867 began to deliver a series of lectures on religious-philosophical-historical subjects. They proved extremely popular with both devout and more liberal-minded Jews, and even Christians and free-thinkers attended the lectures. The innovation crossed the ocean and was introduced in Berlin, Vienna, and elsewhere, after it had been adopted by a hundred and more congregations in America, "and," adds Wise, "saved the Sabbath in most of them."

Under the pressure and forceful personality of Wise, the

Bene Yeshurun congregation came to be the leading reform body in America. The small, unknown synagogue grew under the magic of its rabbi into a great temple, with a large choir, and a fine organ, and the last vestiges of orthodoxy disappeared. During the years from 1854 to 1900 hardly a discordant note marred the harmony that bound the rabbi to his congregation. "In the congregation I have lived and worked in profound peace and undisturbed harmony, in mutual respect and the kindest feelings. . . . It seems sometimes that we were made for one another. When I came here, you, as a congregation were twelve years old, I as rabbi, eleven years, and so we have lived our best years together." ²²

WISE AS JOURNALIST

In the same year that Wise came to Cincinnati as rabbi of the congregation of the Bene Yeshurun, he founded *The Israelite*—the first Jewish journal to be published west of the Alleghenies.²³ The undertaking was quite a hazardous one for the young rabbi, for he had very little money, and there were few Jews in the west who could read English. He communicated his plans to his friends and received very glowing promises which were never kept. Contributions of all kinds were promised but were never received. Fortunately, he wrote very readily, and possessed rare facility in the use of the English language, "hence I could commit to writing very quickly thoughts which may have occupied my mind many days. Writing itself was mere play after I had thought out a theme." After some search he found an old German, a certain Dr. Schmidt,²⁴ who agreed to print the paper; and a few days later appeared the prospectus of the *Israelite*, bringing to

²² From a sermon preached in Oct., 1893.

²³ The only other Jewish weekly in English, the *Asmonean* of New York, was a rather insignificant sort of paper, and contained very little, if any, literary matter; while the "Occident" was a monthly, and of even less consequence than the former.

²⁴ Owner of the evening paper, *The Republican*.

the Jews of America the good news that "on July 15-(1854), will be issued the first number of the *Israelite*, a weekly paper devoted to the interests of the Jewish community, in which Jewish history, poetry, literature, religion, and the affairs of the schools, congregation, and institutions will be freely discussed and commented upon."

The first number of *The Israelite*—bearing the motto, "Let there be light"—appeared on the 6th of July. It contained the beginning of a novel, *The Convert*, a poem, news, leading articles, and miscellanea. "My sorriest embarrassment," wrote Wise, "lay in the fact that I had announced Jewish novels in the prospectus, and could not obtain any. . . . I had no choice but to write novels by the sweat of my brow." During the first year he wrote two, *The Convert*, and *The Shoemaker's Family*. A still greater difficulty, however, lay in procuring readers, for no one was used to reading a Jewish paper, while the very few who could read English preferred not to be known as Jews. "We are not Jews," some of these wrote to Wise. "We do not need a Jewish paper. We do not wish to be known as Jews. There is no honor in being a Jew. I have nothing to do with Jews. . . ."

During nearly the half century that the *Israelite* was under the editorship of Wise, the paper was the fearless champion of the Jew, his defender and his advocate. It carried on an incessant war against prejudice, bigotry, race discrimination and religious hatreds. It insisted vehemently that all men were created equal, and that religion must not be made a state issue, or set up as a social and political barrier. It struck out viciously against the Thanksgiving proclamations, the Swiss Treaty, the reading of the Bible in the public schools, the infamous Grant Order No. 11, the enactment of laws declaring certain Christian religious days public holidays, the attempt to amend the United States Constitution by inserting a religious clause, the Russian Treaty, and the Passport question. It whipped out savagely against the insolence and im-

position of Sunday laws, temperance laws, and blue laws. "This is a democratic Republic and must be governed by honest men without hypocrisy or insolence, without religious lies and imposition, and also without blue laws, Sunday laws, Puritan holidays, Bible fanatics or other fanatics. . . ." ²⁵

The main object of the Israelite ²⁶ was to Americanize the Jew and put him on an equal footing with his gentile neighbor; and as an indirect means of securing political equality for the Jew it was consistent in its advocacy of church and state separation. "Wherever the church rules there is no liberty, no equality, and none to expect as long as she rules. . . . This country has disavowed every connection with any church, and therefore we have a liberty which will last as long as none of the sects impress their intolerant spirit on the scheme of government . . . Let politics be not a matter of the church if you desire political liberty. . . . Let religion . . . be a fear of God and not a medium to obtain public office." ²⁷

In July, 1855, he began the publication of a German weekly called *Die Deborah*, an eight page journal, of which he was very fond. In it appeared his more intimate articles and the story of the first eleven years of his life in America—the *Reminiscences*. With the death of Wise, the publication of the *Deborah*, the second oldest Jewish-German weekly in the world, came to an end. . . .

Although he was greatly depressed by the fiasco of 1849, Wise never really gave up the hope of a union of Hebrew congregations. In October, 1854, Wise proposed a plan to establish a Zion College. . . . "Let us educate our ministers here in our own college, and we will soon have American ministers,

²⁵ Israelite, Vol. xxvii, Nos. 16 and 17.

²⁶ Twenty-one years after the founding of the Israelite, the name of the paper was changed to the "American Israelite." "The 'Israelite,'" explained Wise in announcing the change of the name, "has organized an American Israel, and this was one of its main objects. The Hebrew is Americanized and his religion is naturalized, they are no longer strangers, and they are perfectly at home in this blessed country. . . . The 'Israelite' will be called the 'American Israelite,' to distinguish it from all other organs of the same name in this or in other countries."

²⁷ Isr., Vol. ii, No. 2.

American congregations. . . . Let us have American trained leaders, and they will educate for us American citizens.”²⁸ But the plan fell through, for it received no support outside of Cincinnati. Still, Wise urged and pleaded; and in the fall of the following year Zion College opened with fourteen students two of whom were Christians, three paid teachers and two volunteer professors—Lilienthal and Wise. The college dragged on in a fashion, and then closed down.

Undaunted by the abortive issue of the first attempt, Wise hammered away at the consciousness of American Jewry, hammered and beat it into a final acquiescence. “We must have a college!” he cried. “We must have American preachers and teachers, cost what it may.” Realizing that the support of a union of congregations was imperative to the successful establishment of a college, he cried out to the synagogues to band themselves together. “Nothing can be more desirable than a union of synagogues. The future greatness of Judaism in America depends upon the union of congregations. We must be united in form of worship in order to have no element of discord among us. . . .”²⁹ Wise was essentially a man of action. He grew impatient at the feeble movements and excessive volubility of his fellow reformers. “Words are not wanted; deeds are required. Let none forget deeds are required.” The cold indifference of the East, its priggish superciliousness, its smug and petty egotism, infuriated him, and made him bitter. “Let us give up these synagogues and temples,” he mocked. “Let us sell them and either divide the proceeds or donate them to some charitable purpose. What! Sell our magnificent synagogues? Dispose of our gorgeous temples? Yes, you had better sell them. In twenty years, if you go on as you do now, there will be no use for them. . . . In twenty years an American Jew will speak English only as a rule. We will have no Jewish preachers. . . . America educates none. . . . In twenty years you will need none. You

²⁸ Isr., Vol. 1, No. 2.

²⁹ Isr., Vol. x, No. 7.

had better sell them at your first best chance. Therefore, sell out in time or go to work to educate ministers for the American Jewish Pulpit.”³⁰

Ten years went by. Conferences were held in Philadelphia and Cleveland, without anything tangible coming out of them. Finally, on July 8, 1873, there came together in Cincinnati delegates from thirty-four congregations, and they organized the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, whose main purpose it was “to establish a Hebrew Theological College to preserve Judaism intact, to bequeath it in its purity and sublimity to posterity . . . to establish, sustain, and govern a seat of learning, for Israel’s religion and learning.” The East was sorely chagrined, and *The Jewish Times* did a bit of churlish backbiting: “The whole movement . . . is on a level with all the plans and schemes which were set on foot by Dr. Wise. They cannot rise above . . . the commonplace. And this last product of his feeble brain will fare no better; it will also end in dust and smoke . . . if he lives long enough, he will . . . yet succeed in being made the Jewish Archbishop of American Israel. . . .”³¹ But Wise laughed loud at all this. His dream of twenty years had at last taken on flesh and bone. In these days Wise was exultant with a sense of triumph, and he wrote proudly: “On the eighth, ninth, and tenth days of July, 1873, in the convention held at Cincinnati, the youngest child of Israel was born, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations was organized, constituted, and established. . . . The child was born in peace, brotherly love, and beautiful harmony. . . . The new chapter in our history begins with peace and sends forth the ancient salutation *Shalom Aleichem*, ‘peace to all of you.’” . . .³²

The first council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations met in Cleveland, Ohio, in July, 1874; and it was unanimously decided by the delegates of the fifty-five congregations that there should be established a theological college

³⁰ *Isr.*, Vol. xvii, No. 16.

³² *Isr.*, Vol. xxi, No. 3.

³¹ *Jewish Times*, Vol. v, No. 22.

to be known as the Hebrew Union College, and to be located in Cincinnati. When the Board of Governors, meeting a short time thereafter, elected Wise the first president of the college, he could not keep back the great rushes of joy that swept through him. "We deem it our duty to speak in a few words for the president-elect, and may say that he considers it the highest honor which could have been conferred upon him. Neither a seat in the Senate of the United States, nor the office of Chief Justice appears to him as responsible and honorable a position as the presidency of the Hebrew Union College, where the finest opportunity is offered to contribute largely to the education of the young people of our country; to lay a solid foundation to the future greatness of American Judaism, and to promulgate Hebrew learning, to raise high the moral and intellectual standard of Judaism. . . ." ³³

On the third day of October, 1875, the college was formally opened; and on the following day seventeen students began their studies in the vestry rooms of the Mound Street Temple, on Eighth and Mound Streets. The first faculty consisted of Isaac Mayer Wise, Solomon Eppinger, and, a year later, Rev. Dr. Max Lilienthal.³⁴ The college was open to students of all denominations, and tuition was gratuitous. In 1877 the growing college was removed from the Mound Street Temple to the larger vestry rooms of the Plum Street Temple; and on April 24th, 1881, a large double stone-front house on West Sixth Street was purchased and dedicated as a college building.³⁵

During the formative years the college was sorely pressed for money, and Wise was obliged to travel around, exhorting funds here and there, appealing, cajoling, demanding, insisting that the cause was a worthy one, a good one, but unfortunately

³³ Amer. Isr., Vol. xxv, No. 9.

³⁴ Of the three, Solomon Eppinger was the only one to receive any compensation. In 1879, Rabbi Moses Mielziner, the great Talmudist, joined the faculty.

³⁵ The faculty, which, in 1875, was composed of two professors, had nine at the death of Wise.

a needy one. There were bequests and donations from time to time but these were hardly enough to cover expenses, and the college tottered. Financial equilibrium was established, however, when, in 1878, both Temple Emanu-El and Beth El of New York joined the Union—the first of the eastern congregations to do so.

From this time on the Union gained in strength, despite spasmodic attacks of conservative leaders, who bore a bitter grudge against Wise and his Union. "Dr. Wise is the Union, Dr. Wise is the College, Dr. Wise is a heretic," they spat out. "Kill them off, all of them."³⁶ *The American Hebrew*, of New York, the organ of Orthodox Judaism, echoed the cry of its incensed leaders, and advocated the founding of a new college "free from the shadow of baneful influences which have perverted the Cincinnati institution."³⁷ The Jewish Theological Seminary of New York was shortly thereafter organized, and although it did not thrive during Wise's lifetime, its organization and support by the East retarded the material progress of the Hebrew Union College.

Yet they grew in size and power, both the college and the union. At the time of Wise's death, in 1900, the sixty-one graduates of the Hebrew Union College were at the head of the leading Jewish reform congregations in America. Gottheil, Hirsch, Jastrow, Felsenthal, Szold, Gutheim—these men were gone now, and in their places stood younger men, poised, alert, anxious to throw their challenge into the arena of American Judaism, anxious to carry on the fight of the Reform.

From the very first, Wise began agitation for the establishment of a rabbinical conference, which should undertake to settle religious difficulties, and "open a bright future for our religion and our religious institutions in this country."³⁸ Gestures were made in 1848-49 and in 1855, but they succeeded only in widening the breach between the orthodox and reform

³⁶ *Isr.*, Vol. xxvi, No. 3.

³⁸ *Isr.*, Vol. i, No. 34.

³⁷ *Amer. Heb.*, Vol. xxvi, No. 3.

parties. Worse, the reform party itself cracked in two over the issue; and Rabbi David Einhorn, a disciple of Samuel Holdheim, became the leader of an ultra-reform movement, and a bitter opponent of Wise. This new group tore apart the Talmud, shouted that it was immoral, and jeered at Orthodoxy. Wise saw his half-born dreams fade into thin air, for the Reform was not yet strong enough to bear the shock of civil dissension. "It depressed and discouraged me completely. . . . There was hope for the victory of the reform element only on the condition that its leaders were all united. . . . Like Jeremiah, I sat upon the ruins. . . ." ³⁹

There came up about this time the question of a new prayer book, which should correspond to the modified service in the reform temple. At the Cleveland conference in 1856 a committee was appointed to draft an American ritual, or the *Minhag America* as it was called. Wise, Kalisch, and Rothenheimer worked at it for about a year, and when, in the summer of 1857, the *Minhag America* finally appeared, it was severely scored by both the Orthodox leaders and the radical reformers of the East who were wedded to the German prayer book and would not give it up. Wise was plainly chagrined at the stubbornness of the latter, and the ironic paradox of the situation. "Strange, indeed," he comments, "is the fact of radical reformers insisting upon Germanizing our synagogues in the heart of America; still against every sound principle they attempt to impose a German prayer book on the synagogue just to impede the course of reform." ⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the *Minhag America* was adopted by most of the congregations in the south and west. But there now appeared from time to time a number of other prayer books, ⁴¹ by different ministers for their own use, until there was such a wondrous variety, that a keen need was felt for "one" ritual. In 1891, at a meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, a committee

³⁹ *Remin.*, pp. 317-318.

⁴⁰ *Isr.*, Vol. v, No. 26.

⁴¹ The "*Abodath Yisrael*," by B. Szold and M. Jastrow; the "*Hadar Hattefillah*," by A. Huebsch, etc.

was appointed to prepare such a ritual. For three years it labored, and at a meeting in Atlantic City in July, 1894, the Union Prayer Book was submitted by the committee, and was ratified.

Following the Cleveland conference, in 1856, there were others: the Philadelphia conference (1869); the Cincinnati (1871); and the Pittsburgh (1885). For the most part, these conferences had no permanency, and fared little better than the earlier ones, for there was not yet in America a sufficient number of rabbis who were homogeneous in thought and education. But in 1890, five years later, the Central Conference of American Rabbis was organized in Detroit; and thus in the seventy-first year of Wise's life was formed the last of the three great organizations founded by him for the perpetuation of Judaism in America.

Wise had anticipated this meeting with great eagerness; and when, finally, the conference was established, and Wise was elected president, his cup of happiness was filled to overflowing. "Here are ninety rabbis," he sang out, "peaceably and hopefully united to be now and forever the nucleus, the centre of gravity, to all colleagues who are desirous to work in the name of God for the house of Israel, and the sublime cause of humanity. . . ."

Wise made bold plans for the conference. It would be the champion of Judaism, to shield her and guide her, to instruct and lead her. It was not long before the conference was called to sit as tribunal and decide vexing problems, and settle religious questions and disputes. For a long time now Jewish thinkers had been agitated by the question of proselytism. Was Judaism a missionary religion? Should Judaism try to convert men and women to its faith? And if there are those who wish of their own volition to be converted, what should be the requirements for their admission? Shall certain initiatory rites be required, or shall a simple confession of faith be sufficient? Shall circumcision of male converts be made a

requisite? And so on, and so on. Resolutions were passed at the various conferences, but nothing came of them; until finally, in July, 1891, at the meeting of the Central Conference of Rabbis in Baltimore, the problem was laid wide open, discussed, debated, argued pro and con, and the following resolution adopted:

Resolved, that the Central Conference of American Rabbis . . . considers it lawful and proper for any officiating rabbi, assisted by no less than two associates, and in the name and with the consent of the congregation, to accept into the sacred covenant of Israel, and declare fully affiliated with the congregation . . . any honorable and intelligent person who desires such affiliation, without any initiatory rite, ceremony, or observance whatever; provided that such person be sufficiently acquainted with the faith, doctrine, and religious usages of Israel; that nothing derogatory to such person's moral and mental character is suspected; that it is his or her free will and choice to embrace the cause of Judaism, and that he or she declare verbally, and in a document signed and sealed before such officiating rabbi and his associates, his or her intention and firm resolve—

1. To worship the One Sole and Eternal God and none besides him.

2. To adhere in life and death, actively and faithfully, to the sacred cause and mission of Israel, as marked out in Holy Writ.⁴²

No sooner had this question been solved, than another arose: What about the Sabbath? Economic and social conditions were compelling Jews to follow their ordinary vocations on the Sabbath. Wise, in 1866, had instituted Friday night services and lectures for those who could not attend Saturday morning. The innovation made rapid headway, for it did not, after all, dispense with the traditional Sabbath. There were those, how-

⁴² Year Book of the Central Conference, 1891-92, p. 36.

ever, who, for one reason and another, objected to this arrangement, and advocated a Sunday morning service, retaining, at the same time, the historical Sabbath.⁴⁸ The Sabbath question was debated at rabbinical conferences, and at the session of November 18, 1885, of the Pittsburgh conference, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Whereas we recognize the importance of maintaining the historical Sabbath as a bond with our great past and a symbol of the unity of Judaism the world over; and whereas, on the other hand, it cannot be denied that there is a vast number of workingmen and others who, for some cause or other, are not able to attend the services on the sacred day of rest; be it resolved that there is nothing in the spirit of Judaism or its laws to prevent the introduction of Sunday services in localities where the necessity for such services appears or is felt."

Subsequent conferences have taken a similar stand on the question and the Sunday Sabbath has been officially recognized. . . .

THE END

Wise was a dreamer, an idealist, an optimist, a fighter. He was a lover of music and poetry, a fine conversationalist, witty, clever, mellow, intensely human. He was an indefatigable worker, preaching, writing, lecturing, officiating at weddings, births, deaths, confirmations, dedications, etc. He was a member of so many charitable organizations, lodges, and orders, that his "head fairly whirled with them." He was broad and

⁴⁸ On January 18, 1874, the Sinai congregation of Chicago, introduced Sunday services, and for thirteen years services were held on both days; until, in 1887, under the leadership of Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, services on Saturday were altogether discontinued. Since then Sunday services have been instituted in many of the reform congregations throughout America: Emanu-El and Beth-El, New York City; Bereth Kodesh, Rochester, N. Y.; Adath Israel, Boston, Mass.; Tiffereth Israel, Cleveland, O.; Isaiah, Sinai, and Anshe Maariv, Chicago, Ill.; Temple Israel, St. Louis, Mo.; Adath Israel, Louisville, Ky.; Bethel, Detroit, Mich.; Rodef Shalom, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Hebrew Benevolent, Atlanta, Ga.

liberal in his views, believed in the equality of men and women, and was the first to introduce family pews in the American synagogue so that men and women could worship together. "We need women in the congregational meetings," he had declared, "to bring heart and piety into them . . . the principles of justice and the law of God inherent in every human being, demand that women be admitted to membership in the congregation and be given equal rights with man, that her religious feelings be allowed scope for the sacred work of Israel." ⁴⁴

Many stories are told of his kindness. How he bought a new overcoat one winter's day and came home without it, having given it to some poor man he met on the way home. He did not know the value of money, and smiled at the notion of a will. He gave to the needy with an open heart, and no one in want ever left his door empty-handed. Generous, forgiving, he was not the one to bear a hatred long. When Isaac Leeser, who had opposed all his reforms, died in 1868, Wise published his obituary in the *Israelite*, and he praised him highly as "a zealous advocate and expounder of Judaism, untiring in his efforts to benefit the cause of Israel, honest and consistent to the last day of his life." ⁴⁵ And of Rabbi David Einhorn, the ultra-radical reformer, he wrote: "As a teacher in Israel he was a mighty man . . . whose memory is sacred to every honest man in Israel. . . ." ⁴⁶ And this of a man who had stubbornly opposed Wise's every move towards a union and a rabbinical college.

Although he did not insist upon the observance of the dietary laws, he strictly adhered to them in his own home ". . . aside from the laws of Moses I cannot consider them (dietary and hygienic laws) as appertaining to religion," he wrote to a friend. "I for my part do not eat anything which Moses prohibits, nor is it used in my house . . . I do this out of

⁴⁴ *Isr.*, Vol. xxvii, No. 10.

⁴⁵ *Isr.*, Vol. xiv, No. 32.

⁴⁶ *Amer. Isr.*, Vol. xxxiii, N.S., No. 19.

respect for the law of Moses, which I regard as eminently wise and just. Still, as a matter of religion, I cannot consider any food regulation binding upon all times and generations. . . . So I teach my children to respect every law of Moses—beyond that I do not go—; but I do not call it a sin to eat that which civilized people generally eat, although I with this my own conscience would not eat it. . . .”⁴⁷

Plain in dress and habit, his was a simple life, yet a staccatic and active one. In December, 1861, he purchased a large farm on the Hamilton turnpike about two miles north of the village of College Hill, and about a mile south of Mount Pleasant, and became a gentleman farmer, kept horses and cattle, and often had his little joke about the cost of potatoes, melons, and wine. The keen, brisk air of the country kept him in fine spirits and good health, and in the mornings one could see him taking long jogs along the dirt road, or striking out on foot through green fields. His table was always a merry one, for he had a host of friends; and on Sundays they would gather about the board, like a huge family, and eat, drink, relate anecdotes, and pass the hours away in happy comradeship. About 1870 a black shadow came to rest over the household. Dr. Wise’s wife became an invalid, and after four years of suffering, died. Two years later, on the 25th of April, 1876, he married again—a Miss Selma Bondi, of New York City, the daughter of the distinguished and learned Rabbi, Jonah Bondi. She was a woman of education, culture, and refinement; and during the twenty-four years of their married life proved herself a rare friend and helpmate.

Wise could not be accused of modesty. “Wherever the Jew and Judaism were attacked, I was there, writing or speaking in defense of it. Whenever Judaism needed an expounder or advocate, I was there, called or not called, paid or not paid, whenever and wherever I was wanted. The opponents could not imitate this, but did their best in a private way, and in a

⁴⁷ Cincinnati, O., Nov. 23, 1897, from a letter to Mr. Amson Mohr,

press kept up for the purpose to decry and defame me in every possible way. . . . When from all sides Christian teachers, writers, and orators attacked Judaism and accused the Jews of ignorance of the New Testament, I was the man to accept the challenge. I sat down and wrote my books and lectures on Christianity, and traveled with them all over the land to avert the attacks and give to the Jews a firm standpoint opposite Christianity and its founder, which you can now hear re-echoed by almost all Jewish speakers. . . .”⁴⁸

His end came suddenly. On Saturday morning, March 24, 1900, he went as usual to his pulpit at the Plum Street Temple, preached a sermon, shook hands with the congregation, exchanged “Good Sabbaths,” and came home in good spirits to dine with his family. At two o’clock, after a short rest, he went to the Hebrew Union College, met his class there, lectured as was his wont, and just as he was rising from his chair, at the end of the hour, the fatal stroke came, and he was taken to his home in a semi-conscious condition. Throughout the night he lay helpless, unable to speak or lift his head. He sank into coma, and on Monday, March 26, 1900, just as the sun was setting, he died. . . .

On Thursday, March 29th, 1900, the eighty-first anniversary of his birth, he was buried from the Plum Street Temple. His coffin was a plain pine box, rude, unornamented; and over it was thrown a black pall. Simple in life, simple in death. When the funeral services began, the temple was filled with his friends; while hundreds stood outside in the chill rain, waiting to do him last homage. The Rev. Dr. Louis Grossman, Wise’s associate as rabbi of the Plum Street Temple, read the funeral oration, and took as his text Psalm xxv., verses 12-13: “Who is this man? He feared God and pointed out the chosen way. His soul dwelleth in good and his seed will inherit the earth.” He was buried in the United Jewish Cemetery on Walnut Hills; and a year later the Congregation Bene Yeshurun erected a

⁴⁸ Isr., Feb. 27, 1884.

tall, simple marble shaft, and set a headstone bearing the following inscription:

ISAAC M. WISE

Born in Steingrub, Bohemia, March 29, 1819

Died March 26, 1900

Rabbi of K. Bene Yeshurun

Founder of

The Union of American Hebrew Congregations

The Hebrew Union College

The Central Conference of American Rabbis.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

THE END OF THE SECOND ERA

THE JEW IN THE CIVIL WAR

NEW storm clouds were gathering. The South was ready to secede from the Union. War seemed imminent. It spread its black wings over the whole land.

It was a period of heated controversy. The Jews, themselves slaves for hundreds of years, took a prominent part in the agitation that preceded the war between the states. Those in the South were, many of them, sympathetic to slavery; while the Jews in the North were rabidly against it.

Just as the Old Testament had strongly influenced the struggle for independence, so it now fired the negroes with hopes for liberty. They compared themselves to the ancient Israelite slaves, and their masters to the cruel Pharaohs. They prayed fervently for a Moses to lead them out of their bondage—to lead them to freedom.

There were Jewish slave owners and traders, but, on the whole, they treated their slaves generously. They knew what it was to be ground down by a hard task master. Persecution and suffering through long years of exile had made them friends of universal freedom. In the report of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for 1853, is found the statement that some Jews in the Southern states "have refused to have any right of property in man, or even to have any slaves about them." Touro freed all his slaves. Judge Samuel Heidenfeldt, a native of the South, gave up a lucrative practice, and went to California, because he could not agree to the slavery laws.

For many years before the war, religious controversy raged over the rights and wrongs of slavery. Rabbi David Einhorn,

was forced to leave his pulpit in Baltimore¹ because of his stand against slavery. He went to Philadelphia, and then to New York, where he became rabbi of the Adath Jeshurun congregation. Other ardent abolitionists were Rabbi Sabato Morais, of Philadelphia, and Rabbis Bernhard Felsenthal and Liebman Adler, of Chicago.²

Rabbi Morris J. Raphall of New York took the opposite stand. He wrote in defense of slavery, maintaining that the Bible sanctioned servitude. Michael Heilprin³ refuted the rabbi's views in a fiery article printed in the New York Tribune (Jan. 16, 1861), and succeeded in arousing the public on the eve of the Civil War. . . .

Most of the Jewish immigrants who had come from Germany during the forty years before the Civil War were opposed to slavery. The liberal movement of the Old World had strongly influenced their ways of thinking, and they were among the most enthusiastic members of the newly formed Republican party. Indeed, two of the delegates to the national Republican convention which nominated Abraham Lincoln for President in 1860 were Jews: Moritz Pinner, delegate from St. Louis, and formerly editor of a German anti-slavery periodical, and Lewis Naphthali Dembitz,⁴ delegate from Louisville, and later one of the leaders of Conservative Judaism in America.

Sigismund Kaufman, another of the Jewish abolitionists who had taken part in the German Revolution of 1848, was a representative of the German Republican element in the United States, and was elected a member of the Electoral College

¹ Baltimore was then somewhat southern in its sympathies.

² Among the followers of John Brown in his bitter Kansas struggles were three German and Austrian Jews.

³ Heilprin, a Polish Jew, and a friend of Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian Revolutionary leader, came to the United States after the suppression of the Hungarian Revolution of 1848-9, and settled in Philadelphia, where he taught in the schools of the Hebrew Education Society. Ten years later, in 1858, he moved to Brooklyn.

⁴ Dembitz was the publisher of "Jewish Services in the Synagogue and Home." He was the uncle of Louis D. Brandeis, the U. S. Supreme Court judge.

which officially chose Lincoln. He was director of the Hebrew Union Asylum, and held the office of commissioner of immigration. He addressed anti-slavery meetings in English, German, and French, and was one of the more influential politicians of New York.

Among the personal friends of Lincoln was Abraham Jonas,⁵ of Quincy, Illinois, an English Jew, whose four sons, strangely enough, fought in the Confederate army. This Jonas was at one time a member of the Kentucky legislature, and served with Lincoln as presidential elector from Illinois on the Fremont ticket.⁶ During the war Jonas fell very ill, and his dying wish was to see his son, Charles, who had been taken prisoner by the Union forces. When Lincoln heard of this, he immediately issued an order paroling the young boy for three weeks so that he might see his father. Another son, Benjamin, was United States Senator from Louisiana, from 1879 to 1885.

JEWISH SOLDIERS IN THE WAR

The Jews were growing in numbers. Nearly 100,000 Jews came to the United States between 1848 and 1860. German-Jewish immigration reached its peak in these twelve years. In 1840 there were only about 15,000 Jews in the United States; by 1847 the number had jumped to 50,000; and in 1860, at the beginning of the Civil War, the Jewish population numbered close to 150,000.

It is difficult to say precisely how many Jews fought in the Civil War. Various figures have been given. One Confederate general estimated in 1864 that there were 12,000 Jews in the Confederate armies alone; and when Secretary of War Sned-

⁵ Jonas, who first settled in Kentucky, was at one time a member of the Kentucky Legislature, and grand master of the Kentucky Masons. He later became grand master of the Illinois Masonic lodge.

⁶ In 1860 Lincoln wrote Jonas a letter denying that he was a member of the "Know Nothing Party."

den, of the Confederate states, was requested in the fall of 1864 to grant a furlough to Jewish soldiers during Rosh Hashonah and Yom Kippur, he said he believed there were from ten to twelve thousand Jews in the Southern armies, and that it would likely upset certain commands if the request were granted. Both these estimates, however, seem exaggerated. It is safe to say that more than 10,000 Jews fought in the war, about 6,000 of whom wore the blue.⁷

The enlistments of Jewish soldiers in both the North and the South were considerably in excess of their ratio to the general population. They came from nearly every state and territory in the Union. New York state alone contributed two thousand Jewish soldiers to the northern armies; Illinois more than a thousand; Ohio, 1,134; Indiana and Pennsylvania, more than five hundred each; Missouri, 239; and Michigan 210. From Nevada came three recruits; from Wyoming territory, one; from Washington territory, one; from California and Wisconsin, twenty each; and from Kansas, nine.⁸

Brothers, fathers, and sons, fought side by side. In New York's contingent there were the five Wenk brothers, and Colonel Solomon Levy and his three sons.⁹ Ohio gave the three Koch brothers and Pennsylvania the three Emanuel brothers.

On the Confederate side Louisiana furnished 224 soldiers; Alabama, 132; Arkansas, 53; Texas, 104; Mississippi, 156; South Carolina, 334; and Virginia, 113. Of the fifty-two from North Carolina, six were sons of one family; South Carolina contributed the five Moses brothers; Raphael Moses and his three sons were among the 137 soldiers from Georgia; and Alabama sent three Moses brothers of her own.

A number of Jews rose to high positions in the army.¹⁰

⁷ Estimate made by the State Historical Society of Alabama.

⁸ These figures show clearly the wide distribution of the Jewish population in the 60's. New England contributed few Jewish soldiers because that section of the country was then sparsely settled by Jews.

⁹ Captain Benjamin, Lieutenant Alfred, and Captain Ferdinand.

¹⁰ In the northern army seven Jews received medals at the hands of Lincoln for distinguished service.

There is a record of nine Jewish generals, eighteen colonels, eight lieutenant-colonels, forty staff officers, two hundred captains, three hundred twenty-five lieutenants, forty-eight adjutants, twenty-five surgeons, and one Jewish chaplain—Rabbi Jacob Frankel.¹¹

The highest ranking Jewish officer in the war was Brevet-Major General Frederick Kneffler of Indianapolis, a Union commander. Edward S. Solomon, of Chicago, rose from the rank of second-lieutenant to that of brevet-brigadier general, and in 1870 was appointed governor of Washington territory by President Grant. Leopold Blumberg had been in the United States only seven years when the war broke out. He gave up his business in Baltimore and assisted in organizing the Fifth Maryland regiment, of which he became major. He barely missed being hanged once by some Baltimore secessionists; stopped a bullet at Antietam; was promoted provost-marshal of the Third Maryland district by President Lincoln; and was appointed brevet-brigadier general of the United States Volunteers by President Johnson.

Philip J. Joachimson of New York, assistant United States district attorney, and substitute United States Attorney (by special act of Congress), helped organize the 59th New York volunteer regiment, and proved his spirit at New Orleans. He reached the rank of brevet-brigadier general, and in 1870 was elected judge of the Marine Court of New York. Marcus M. Spiegel enlisted in the 67th Ohio Infantry and rose step by step, through sheer bravery, to the rank of colonel. Death at Snaggy Point robbed him of a Brigadier-Generalship. The 27th Pennsylvania Infantry regiment, which covered the Union retreat in the first battle of Bull Run, was commanded by Colonel Max Einstein, a Philadelphia silk merchant, and contained nearly thirty Jewish officers and sixty Jewish privates.

The 65th Pennsylvania regiment (Fifth Cavalry), known

¹¹ The office of chaplain, by the army's definition, was restricted to Christian ministers, and it was only after heated protests and appeals by prominent Jews that the concession was gained.

as the Cameron Dragoons, went to the front under the command of Colonel Max Friedman, a Jew of Philadelphia. Abraham Hart reached the rank of adjutant-general in General Blencker's division of the Army of the Potomac; while Moses Isaac, of New York, accomplished the same in the Third army corps of the Potomac fighters. Lieutenant-Colonel Leopold C. Newman, another New York Jew, was fatally wounded at the battle of Chancellorsville. President Lincoln visited him at his bedside with a commission promoting him to the rank of Brigadier-General, but death intervened.¹²

Among the Confederate Jewish officers were Surgeon General David de Ken; Assistant Adjutant General J. Randolph Mordecai; Colonel Raphael J. Moses—chief commissary for the state of Georgia; Adolph Meyer—who later went into politics and served nine terms as Congressman; Assistant Adjutant-General Lionel Levy—Judge Advocate of the Military Court of the Confederate Army; Captain Levy Myers Harby of the Confederate Navy,¹³ in command of the harbor of Galveston; Lieutenant Isidor Straus¹⁴—brother of the famous Oscar and Nathan Straus, and Octavus Cohen, Quartermaster of the Georgia troops. . . .

The war took its toll. Three hundred and thirty-six Jews fell on the field of battle, never to rise again. Three hundred and sixteen were wounded. Seventeen died in prison. . . .

Men and money fight a war. The Seligman brothers, fiscal agents for the government, placed a large amount of bonds on the German market for the Union cause. August Belmont, one of the greatest financiers in the country, and a power in the Democratic party, together with the Joseph brothers of New York, helped the North through their connections with the Rothschilds in Europe. An anonymous Jewish banker came to the aid of the Union cause when he offered England a \$5,000,000 guarantee against any damages that

¹² Practically all these high officers were of German birth and descent.

¹³ There were twelve Jewish officers in the Confederate Navy.

¹⁴ In 1863 Straus was sent to England by the Confederacy to secure ships for blockade service.

might be awarded the Confederacy, if the two Confederate cruisers, which were to be released from England to prey on Northern commerce, were held in port.

But despite his loyalty, the Jew had his trouble. He was blamed for profiteering, for blockade-running, for selling contraband goods. These accusations resulted in the notorious "Order No. 11," issued by General Grant in 1862, "Banishing Jews from the department of Tennessee." This order created a great stir among the Jews. They held protest meetings, and succeeded in getting Lincoln to ask Grant for an explanation. Grant had made a serious mistake, and knew it. He apologized and explained that the order had not been directed against the Jews but against the persons who were blockade-running and dealing in contraband goods. The order was countermanded at once.

JUDAH P. BENJAMIN—THE BRAINS OF THE CONFEDERACY

On August 6, 1811, in St. Thomas, West Indies, there was born to Philip and Rebecca Benjamin, a son, Judah, who was destined to become the greatest Jewish figure in American politics. When Judah was seven his parents came to America and settled in Charleston, South Carolina. Some years later the boy entered Yale, but finding things not quite to his liking, left without taking a degree. He went to New Orleans, which was squirming with life in those days and there taught English, learned French, and studied law. He was admitted to the bar in 1832, and a year later married a Creole pupil—Natalie St. Martin—who remained a devout Roman Catholic all her life. The marriage was not a happy one. When their only child was five years old, Mrs. Benjamin went with her daughter to France, and Mr. Benjamin saw them only on his visits to Paris which he made almost yearly.

Despite his unhappy marital affairs, he retained a consuming

eagerness to get ahead. He hit up an acquaintance with Thomas Slidell, who later became Chief Justice of Louisiana, and the two of them collaborated on a digest of legal decisions of the superior courts in the territory. In 1842 Benjamin was elected to the lower house of the Louisiana Assembly on the Whig ticket, and there began for him now an exciting political career.

Benjamin took little interest in Jewish affairs. He was even accused of belonging to the Know-Nothing party—the anti-foreign party. He loved the South. It came before race, religion, sentiment. Although a foreigner himself, he opposed the granting of suffrage to foreigners, seeing in them a danger to the South.

There was no keener political diagnostician than the Jew, Benjamin. He foresaw and predicted the Civil War as early as 1845. He was at home in politics. He forged ahead: member of the Louisiana Constitutional Assembly in 1845; state senator in 1852; and United States Senator—the second Jew to serve in this capacity—a few years later. He was reelected to the United States Senate in 1859, after having left the Whig party for the Democrats over the slavery question, and became one of the most forceful statesmen in the senate.

Jefferson Davis had a lot of respect for this dynamic Jew. When Louisiana seceded, and Benjamin resigned from the Senate, Davis named him Attorney-General of the new republic, and later, in 1861, Secretary of War. Benjamin had no bed of roses. He was unpopular with the masses. When General Wise lost an important battle they said it was because Benjamin had failed to send him enough ammunition. They did not know there was no ammunition to send. Davis knew the truth. He had faith in Benjamin. He proved it by naming him Secretary of State in 1862—the highest political position ever held by a Jew.

As the fortunes of the Confederacy waned, Benjamin's unpopularity increased. When Richmond fell he accompanied Davis to Greensboro, and taking leave there of his chief, he

escaped to the West Indies. His feet touched native soil once more. But his heart yearned for a life of action. He left the West Indies behind him, and after many adventures, he reached England, on the 22nd of July, 1865.

Benjamin was fifty-four when he came to England—fifty-four and penniless. Now to begin the whole travail over again! How many men would have faced the large question-mark of the future with the courage and spirit of Benjamin? Luckily, there were two men in England who knew of him: Disraeli,—England's most famous Jew, and Gladstone, the great statesman. They befriended him, and encouraged him to start anew. He studied English law and became a barrister—perhaps the greatest English barrister of his day.¹⁵

Fame came to him and death. How often they walk hand in hand! In 1880 an accident left him a sick man, and he was forced in 1883 to leave the bar. He retired to his mansion in Paris where he died the next year, on May 6, 1884. He was buried according to the rites of the Catholic Church.¹⁶

AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

The Civil War is over. The slave is free. The South and the North are fused into one nation again. The black clouds of war and dissension lift slowly from the earth.

From 1865 to 1880 the German Jew became a new man. It was the period of his greatest prosperity. His economic well-being having been assured, the affluent Bavarian turned to other matters. He built temples and synagogues, founded societies and institutions, fostered schools and homes, sent his children to the colleges and universities, and entered the professions. Peace and security drove the last fear from his heart, gave him confidence, filled his heart with a love for America.

¹⁵ Benjamin wrote a treatise on the sale of personal property which became a legal classic. His income from his law practice reached \$75,000 a year, an enormous sum of money at that time—and this.

¹⁶ His wife survived him seven years, and his daughter fourteen.

During this period immigration from Germany took a sharp drop. The union of German states under the hegemony of Prussia following the Franco-Prussian War had ushered in a prosperity never experienced before. German industry grew by leaps and bounds and attained titanic proportions. Laws became more liberal and Jews less hated. The Jews became rich. They attained prominence in finance, in industry, in the professions and the arts. They were in the forefront of every German activity. In no country—not even in America—did the Jew wield such power as in the new German confederation. There was certainly no need for him now to emigrate to America.

During this time a small stream of Russian and Austrian Jews kept trickling in. In 1870 there were about five thousand Russian Jews in the United States; by 1880 their numbers had grown to about 50,000. In this same year there were altogether about 250,000 Jews in the United States, 80,000 of whom lived in New York City alone. . . .

These were fruitful years. It was during this period that the Yiddish press was born. Hirsch Hirschbein, a Russian-Polish Jew, arrived in New York in 1870 and in the same year established *The Post* and the *Ha-Zofeh be'Eretz Ha-Hadasah*—the first neo-Hebrew publication in the United States.¹⁷ Kasriel H. Sarasohn founded the weekly *Yiddish Gazette* in 1874, and five years later Nachman Baer Ettelson and S. L. Marvus established the *Israelitische Presse* in Chicago.¹⁸ Among the several English-Jewish publications founded also during his period were *The American Hebrew* of New York,¹⁹ *The Jewish Exponent* of Philadelphia, and the *Jewish Advance* of Chicago.

The period after the Civil War saw America changed from

¹⁷ Although the Yiddish paper had a brief existence, the Hebrew periodical, edited by David Jalomstein, a Russian-Polish Jew, lasted five years.

¹⁸ The paper had a Hebrew supplement, and managed to carry on for several years.

¹⁹ Still in existence.

an agricultural country to the greatest industrial nation in the world. Railroads stretched steel fingers across the continent. A cable linked America and Europe. Luxurious liners plied the ocean. Oil was discovered in Pennsylvania. Factories rose by the hundreds. Finance, commerce, and industry grew like giants.

The nation toils and sweats. Its muscles and girders and wheels grind and whirl and fill the air with a clamor. The continent groans like a giant in fetters. The Vanderbilts, Harri-mans, Hills, and Gould bind the land with a network of rails. Rockefeller, Carnegie, and the elder Morgan are fashioning a new industrial empire and the Jew is taking a part.

It was just before this era that the clothing industry had started off on its spectacular rise. The Civil War with the sudden demand for hundreds of thousands of uniforms had given the industry its first real impetus. By 1880 nearly \$60,000,000 was invested in the clothing trade, and most of it was controlled by German Jews.

It was during these years that the great Jewish banking and investment houses, such as Kuhn, Loeb and Co., Hallgarten and Co., the house of Speyer, and the firm of Henry Greenebaum of Chicago, got their start. The Jews forged ahead. Nelson Morris became one of the leading packers in the country; the Hart brothers controlled the manufacture of men's clothing in Chicago; Jews got the upper hand in the shoe and boot industry, and became leaders in the jewelry trade and the manufacture of cigars. Lazarus Straus, father of Oscar, Nathan, and Isidor—the most famous Jewish brothers in America—established the greatest pottery establishment in the world; Brentano founded his publishing house and became the most prominent bookseller in America.

It was a thrilling era for the Jews. They had their fingers in every industrial pie. They financed railroads, built mills, drilled for oil, dug for gold, cracked the earth open for its treasures. The erstwhile humble peddler of Bavaria became the owner of great department stores; the retail clothing trade

gradually passed into his hands; he became among the wealthiest of merchants.

The Jewish orders began to assume real prominence during this period. The membership of the B'nai Brith rose from 3,000 in 1857 to 20,000 in 1868. Under the guiding spirit of Julius Bien,²⁰ the order established hundreds of lodges, supported hospitals, orphan asylums, homes for the aged, and various other charitable institutions. It exercised a great influence in national affairs, championed the rights of the Jew, and proved itself a power for good in Jewish life.

There were numerous other Jewish orders and societies, although none attained the prominence of the B'nai Brith. The Keshet shel Barzel (Iron Band), founded by J. S. Blackman in 1860 for the benefit of Polish Jews, had 1,000 members by 1871, with lodges in New York and California. The Independent Order Free Sons of Israel, founded in the year of the California gold rush, numbered its members among the thousands in the seventies. The order of the Sons of Benjamin was organized in 1879, and its membership grew rapidly. With the exception of the B'nai Brith most of the lodges were in the nature of fraternal insurance orders. They paid benefits to the sick, raised money for the widows and children of deceased members, and above all exerted a socializing and unifying influence upon the newly arrived immigrants.

Many new institutions sprang up in this era. The United Hebrew Charities of New York was organized in 1874—two years after the incorporation of the Home for Aged and Infirm Hebrews. The Young Men's Hebrew Association—patterned after the Y.M.C.A.—had its birth in 1874. In 1871 the Mt. Sinai Hospital moved into larger quarters, and eight years later the Hebrew Sheltering Guardian and Orphan Society was formed. These same years saw the beginnings of the Hebrew Free School Association, which not long after encouraged the formation of several important educational institutions.

²⁰ Bien was president of the order in the years 1854-1857. He came to its head again in 1868, and remained in control for 32 years.

Philadelphia was not far behind New York in institutional growth. The Maimonides College—the first Jewish theological seminary in America—opened its doors in 1867 and survived six years. The Hebrew Education Society, organized in 1841, opened its first quarters in 1866, and moved into a new building in 1873. In the same year was founded the Jewish Maternity Home, while the Jewish Foster Home, which erected its first building in 1855, was reorganized in 1874. The Young Men's Association of Philadelphia saw light in 1875, and the same era produced a similar association for women.

A Jewish hospital was erected in Chicago in 1868, but it went up in flames during the great Chicago fire of 1871. Seven years later the Michael Reese Hospital was built. The United Hebrew Charities of Chicago was organized in 1859, and the United Hebrew Charities of St. Louis in 1875.

Synagogues had a mushroom growth during this period. They went up in Boston (the Jews were drifting back into New England), Detroit, St. Paul, Meridian, Natchez, Port Gibson, Vicksburg—the latter three in Mississippi—Kansas City, St. Joseph, Omaha, Rochester, Shreveport, Monroe (Iowa), and Brooklyn, N. Y. New York City alone, in 1880, had twenty-nine synagogues.

These were years of great religious controversy. The Reform element, headed by Wise, Lilienthal, Einhorn,²¹

²¹ Next to Wise, David Einhorn was the most prominent of the American Reformers. Born in Bavaria, he had already made his mark as a reformer in Europe, before his appearance on the American scene. As a matter of fact, in 1852 the Austrian government had closed his Reform temple in Budapest largely on the charges of the Orthodox faction that his temple was a breeding ground of revolutionary and radical doctrines. He came to America in the early fifties and soon won a reputation as one of the most advanced of the Reform leaders. He was a profound scholar and used his learning to back up his ideas. He regarded the ceremonial laws of Moses as purely symbolical, and the miracles of the Bible as ethical allegories. When Einhorn arrived in Baltimore in 1855, to assume the pulpit of the Har Sinai synagogue, he found the forces of religious liberalism too conciliatory and temporizing. He lost his temper over the conservative principles adopted by the Cleveland Rabbinical Conference of 1855, and came into opposition with Wise, who called Einhorn an enemy of Jews and Judaism. The eastern Reformers, headed by Dr. Merzbacher of the Temple Emanu-El of New York, arrayed themselves on the

Hirsch,²² Felsethal, and Adler stormed the fortresses of Orthodoxy, manned by Leaser, Isaacs,²³ Raphall, Judah, and Morais.²⁴ Guarding the third corner of the religious triangle were the Conservatives, more liberal than the Rabbinical faction, yet opposed to the sweeping reforms of the left wing. Among the leaders of Conservative Jewry were Benjamin Szold, one of the founders of the center party; Marcus Jastrow;²⁵ Alexander

side of Einhorn, and the breach between the east and the west widened. In later years Einhorn's principles were adopted by Wise and became the corner-stone of American Reform Judaism. His prayer book "Olat Tomid" became the official prayer book of the Reform congregations, and was translated into English by his son-in-law, Dr. E. G. Hirsch of Chicago. Many of his prayers are embodied in the Union Prayer Book, which is today the ritual employed by most of the Reform temples.

²² Dr. Samuel Hirsch, for twenty-three years chief rabbi of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, succeeded Einhorn as rabbi of the Keneseth Israel Congregation of Philadelphia in 1866. He was an uncompromising radical, and headed the forces against Wise and Lilienthal.

²³ Samuel Mayer Isaacs was rabbi first of the Bene Jeshurun congregation, and later of the congregation Shaare Tefillah. He was the founder of the "Jewish Messenger" of New York, and a staunch fighter in the ranks of traditional Judaism.

²⁴ Rabbi Sabato Morais was born in Leghorn, Italy, in 1823, and arrived in Philadelphia in 1851. Up to his death in 1897 he was one of the leaders of conservative Jewry, and withstood every appeal in behalf of ritualistic innovation. When Maimonides College was founded in 1867, Morais was made professor of the Bible and Biblical literature. His great ambition to found an orthodox Jewish rabbinical seminary was realized in 1886. His son, Henry Samuel Morais, was a writer and the first editor of the Philadelphia "Jewish Exponent."

²⁵ Marcus Jastrow was born in Prussian Poland and held a Ph.D. from the University of Halle. In 1858 he became preacher of the "German" congregation of Warsaw, Poland, and took part in the abortive Polish uprising against the Russians in 1861. As a result of his revolutionary activities he was arrested and imprisoned for three months, and later expelled. Shortly afterwards, after serving for several months as rabbi in Mannheim, Germany, he returned to Warsaw. In 1863, when the Poles rose up against the Russians, Jastrow was forced to leave the country. He came to Philadelphia in 1866 as Rabbi of the Rodeph Shalom Congregation where he ably seconded the efforts of Leaser against Wise and his followers. Among his numerous activities, Jastrow was one of the professors of Maimonides College, aided Szold in revising the prayerbook, compiled a Talmudic dictionary, was editor of the department of the Talmud for the Jewish Encyclopedia, and chief editor of a new translation of the Bible into English. His two sons are leading American scholars, the older, Prof. Morris Jastrow, a great orientalist, the younger, Joseph Jastrow, one of the foremost American psychologists.

Kohut, lexicographer and orientalist; ²⁶ Henry S. Jacobs, first president of the Board of Jewish Ministers of New York; Isadore Kalisch; and Adolph Huebsch.²⁷ The Reform had its stronghold in Cincinnati, where the Hebrew Union Theological Seminary—a training school for Reform Rabbis—had been established; while Orthodoxy pitched its camp in New York and in Philadelphia, where Leeser held sway.

German Jews formed the great bulk of the Reform party. Orthodoxy drew many of its adherents from the Sephardim and the Russian-Polish Jews. Conservative Jewry, standing on neutral ground, had a fairly mixed membership. The three factions still stand, each clinging tenaciously to its banner.

DIPLOMAT BENJAMIN FRANKLIN PEIXOTTO

The trouble with the Swiss Republic had not yet been forgotten, when the ugly head of anti-semitism showed itself on the Christian soil of Rumania. As early as 1867 the American government had urged its Minister in Constantinople to use his influence in putting a stop to the popular sport of Jew-baiting. But it remained for Benjamin Franklin Peixotto, a Jew, to really get action.

In 1870 Benjamin Peixotto, a lawyer by profession, was appointed by President Grant Consul General to Rumania. He at once got into communication with Washington, described the outrages that were being practiced against the Jews, and encouraged the American government to do something about it. His letters were effective. The United States government invited the cooperation of other governments to put an end to Jewish persecutions. As a result of Peixotto's activity and the interference of the American government, Rumania acquired

²⁶ Alexander Kohut, who came from Hungary, was an eminent conservative leader and one of the founders of the Jewish Theological Seminary.

²⁷ Rabbi Adolph Huebsch, an Hungarian Jew, came to New York in 1866 to assume the pulpit of the Ahawat Chesed Congregation.

the status of a sovereign kingdom from the Berlin Congress of 1878, only on the express condition that the civil and political rights of the Jews be recognized. The Rumanian authorities readily acquiesced, but as readily forgot.

Peixotto remained in Rumania six years and then served as Consul in Lyons, France. He had been appointed Consul General to St. Petersburg, but the Russian government, having acquainted itself with the reputation of Peixotto, refused to have him. The Russians still had their game to play.

POET EMMA LAZARUS

Emma Lazarus was born in New York City, on the twenty-second of July, 1849. Her parents were of fine ~~Sephardic~~ stock, aristocratic, educated, and of considerable means. At quite a young age Emma manifested a poetic taste and literary talent. Her early poetry, decorative and artificial, received its nourishment from classic sources. She started to write when she was fourteen, and a collection of poems written between her fourteenth and seventeenth year appeared in print in 1867. There is nothing much to commend her early work, except a fierce and not uncommon adolescent gloom. In 1871 she published *Admetus and Other Poems*, and contributed to Lippincott and Scribner's regularly during the next ten years. Nature was a great and almost unbelievable passion with her, and she lived only

"To see the light
That plays upon the grass, to feel (and sigh
With perfect pleasure) the mild breezes stir
Among the garden roses, red and white,
With whiffs of fragrancy."²⁸

Emerson was her God during these formative years. He influenced her writings a great deal, and acted as her literary

²⁸ From "Matins."

mentor.²⁹ There is nothing in these early writings to indicate the Jew. She was really asleep all these years—racially, that is—and did not awake until the cries of tortured Russian Jews beat in on her and aroused her. Once aroused, she became a genuine artist.

The Russian May Laws of 1881, the bloody pogroms, and the frenzied influx of hordes of Jews into the United States stirred Emma out of her classic seclusion. It meant a spiritual rebirth for her. She became consciously, sensitively, gloriously, the Jew. She studied the Bible, learned Hebrew, and absorbed Jewish history. She became exhilarated with Judaism. She cried out for all Jews to stand together, to fight, to win new glories!

“Wake, Israel, wake! Recall today
The Glorious Maccabean rage,
The sire heroic, hoary-gray,
His five-fold line-lineage;
The Wise, the Elect, the Help-of-God,
The Burst-of-Spring; the Avenging Rod.

“Oh for Jerusalem’s trumpet now,
To blow a blast of shattering power,
To wake the sleepers high and low,
And rouse them to the urgent hour;
No hand for vengeance, but to save,
A million naked swords should wave.

“Oh, deem not dead that martial fire,
Say not the mystic flame is spent!
With Moses’ law and David’s lyre,
Your ancient strength remains unbent.

²⁹ Emma Lazarus was between seventeen and eighteen when the writings of Emerson fell into her hands. How completely the American philosopher ravished the impressionable mind of the young girl is clearly indicated in her letters and conversations. “To how many thousand youthful hearts,” she once wrote, “has not his (Emerson’s) word been the beacon—nay, more, the guiding star—that led them safely through periods of mental storm and struggle!” They corresponded faithfully for several years, and his letters indicate clearly the high regard he felt for her.

Let but an Ezra rise anew,
To lift the Banner of the Jew!"⁸⁰

Impatient once with religious ceremony and law, she sings now of Rosh Hashonah and Hanukah:

"Kindle the taper like the steadfast star
A blaze on Evening's forehead o'er the earth,
And add each night a lustre till afar
An eight-fold splendor shine above thy hearth.
Clash, Israel, the cymbals, touch the lyre,
Blow the brass trumpet and the harsh-tongued horn;
Chant psalms of victory till the heart take fire,
The Maccabean spirit leap new-born."⁸¹

As a Jew she wrote her finest works: *The Crowing of the Red Cock*; *The Banner of the Jew*; *The Choice*; *The New Ezekiel*; *By the Waters of Babylon*; and the *Dance of Death*.⁸² Between 1882 and 1887 she translated the Hebrew poets of

⁸⁰ From "The Banner of the Jew."

⁸¹ From "Hanukah."

⁸² The "Dance of Death," easily her best work, is a drama of persecution of the twelfth century. Accused of poisoning the wells and causing the Black Death, the Jews of Nordhausen, a free city of Thuringia, are condemned to death by fire. Individuals perish, but Judaism survives. Spirit triumphs over matter, as the Jews, marching to their death, in festal array and carrying the scroll of the law and the perpetual lamp and the seven-branched candlestick of the synagogue, sing out, over the jeers of the populace:

"I see, I see,
How Israel's ever-crescent glory makes
These flames that would eclipse it dark as blots
Of candle-light against the blazing sun.
We die a thousand deaths,—drown, bleed, and burn.
Yet the wild winds cherish the sacred seed,
The waters guard it in their crystal heart,
The fire refuseth to consume.

Even as we die in honor, from our death
Shall bloom a myriad heroic lives,
Brave through our bright example, virtuous
Lest our great memory fall in disrepute."

The drama was published, along with other poems and translations from the Hebrew poets of medieval Spain, in a small volume entitled "Songs of a Semite," and was dedicated "to the memory of George Eliot, the illustrious writer who did most among the artists of our day towards elevating and ennobling the spirit of Jewish nationality."

medieval Spain, and contributed articles on Jewish subjects to the Jewish and English press.⁸³

Emma Lazarus died on November 19, 1887, in the city of her birth. She died a young woman, just when her art was becoming ripe and matured. In her poems of Judaism and her translations of Heine, Emma Lazarus has made a significant contribution to American literature.

⁸³ In her numerous articles in both the Jewish and English press, Emma Lazarus looks forward towards a restored and independent nationality and repatriation in Palestine. Her views are succinctly expressed in an article in the "American Hebrew" of February 24, 1883:

"My chief aim has been to contribute my mite towards arousing that spirit of Jewish enthusiasm which might manifest itself: First, in a return to the varied pursuits and broad system of physical and intellectual education adopted by our ancestors; second, in a more fraternal and practical movement towards alleviating the sufferings of oppressed Jews in countries less favored than our own; third, in a closer and wider study of Hebrew literature and history; and finally, in a truer recognition of the large principles of religion, liberty, and law upon which Judaism is founded, and which should draw into harmonious unity Jews of every shade of opinion."

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE RUSSIAN JEW IN AMERICA

BEHIND THE SCENES IN RUSSIA

THE year 1881 was the beginning of the most important era in the history of American Jewry. It was in that year that the first tidal wave of immigration from Russia and Poland swept into the United States, bringing more than two million Jews on its crest, and entirely engulfing and submerging the previous Jewish settlements.

Out of the Russian Pale of settlement they streamed, where, herded together by a fiercely anti-Semitic government, laws crushed them to the ground. The Pale was a gigantic medieval ghetto including the fifteen provinces of Western and South-western Russia—Vilna, Kovno, Minsk, Grodno, Mohileff, Vitebsk, Volhynia, Chernigov, Poltava, Polodia, Kiev (except the city of Kiev), Bessarabia, Taurida (except the city of Yalta), Kherson, Yekaterinoslav, and the ten provinces of Poland—Warsaw, Kalisz, Kielce, Lomza, Lublin, Petrikow, Plock, Radom, Suvalk, and Siedlec. From the rest of the eighty-nine provinces and territories, constituting nearly 95 per cent of the total area of the old Russian Empire, Jews were forcibly excluded.

Russia, the great bear, was slow in awakening. It slept a deep sleep. Serfs bent their backs over the hard ground, while the fat, sleek feudal nobility warmed itself before its great fires, and ruled the land.

In 1861 the serfs were freed. But emancipation was not complete. Heavy taxes ground the peasant to the bone. With land insufficient for his needs, exploited pitilessly by the government and a parasitic nobility, the serf was bound to his master by economic ties. Hungry, ignorant, fearful, he did

not have the gumption to revolt, but bore his misery with ox-like patience.

Eastern Europe was a great layer-cake: the fine frosting on top—the nobility; the hard crust below—the peasant; and in between—the Jew.

The Jews served as the middle class in Eastern Europe. They were the traders, the merchants, the artisans.¹ They bought and sold the peasant's grain and other fruits of the soil; ² they supplied the serf with his modest needs; they were the carpenters, the bricklayers, the shoe-makers, the tailors.³ They managed the estates of the nobles, lent money, imported and exported, dealt in cattle and horses, in leather and hides.

Up to the year of the Jewish exodus from the Pale, Russia was still a medieval nation.⁴ There were the distinct social

¹ Although Russia was, and still is, overwhelmingly agricultural, the Jews were almost wholly a business, artisan, and merchant class. Thirty-nine per cent of the Jews in the Russian Empire were engaged in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits; 32% in commerce, and only 3% in farming. In striking contrast to this, 61% of the non-Jews in Russia were engaged in agriculture; 15% in manufacture and mechanics; and 3% in commerce. According to Rubinow ("Economic Condition of the Jew in Russia") more than twice as many Jews, relatively, as non-Jews were engaged in industrial pursuits, and nearly twelve times as many Jews as non-Jews in commercial pursuits. In the Pale, where nearly 95% of the Jews lived, the occupational groupings were very much more pronounced. Seventy per cent of the Jews in the Pale were engaged in industry and commerce, while only 13% of the non-Jews were engaged in similar pursuits. While the Jews formed only 12% of the total working population of the Pale, they formed 32% of all engaged in industry, and 77% of all engaged in commerce.

² Nearly half the Jewish merchants in the Pale were traders and dealers in agricultural products. They dealt chiefly in grain, cattle, fur, and hides—the first being the principal commodity. As a matter of fact, they were the chief factors in the organization of the Russian grain trade, and controlled this trade in the Pale and on the Black Sea.

³ The clothing industry, which was by far the most important industry in Russia, and which employed more than one-third of the Jewish working population, was almost entirely in the hands of the Jews. Practically all the tailors and shoe-makers in the Pale were Jews. Jews played an equally important part in the preparation of food products, in the building trades, in the metal, wood, and tobacco industries.

⁴ In the words of Kovalevsky (*La Crise Russe*, 1906, p. 111), Russia was a society which "still preserved of feudalism, not its political spirit but its economic structure, serfdom, monopoly and the privileges of the nobility, its immunities in the matter of taxes, its exclusive right to landed property, and its seignorial rights."

classes,⁵ each with its separate legal status and rights; the complete subjection of individuality; the complete alliance of church and state; and absolute sovereignty. At the head of the Russian Empire was the Czar, supreme, all-powerful; while at his feet swarmed the nobility, emulating its ruler, and in turn ruling its own lands with an iron hand.

The Russian Orthodox Church was the official faith of the land. It exercised complete control over the lives of the faithful and the clergy, in secular as well as religious matters. Only the Russian Orthodox was the true Russian; all others were aliens and heretics, and to be rooted out of the Russian soil.

Russia gained the great majority of her Jews towards the end of the 18th century when Poland was partitioned between Austria, Prussia, and Russia.⁶ Since then, the Jews have never had an easy time of it. In the first half of the nineteenth century Nicholas I tried to convert the Jews by force. Jewish boys of nine and ten were kidnapped and sent away for twenty-five years to live with Christians in remote parts of the kingdom. They were put in uniform, placed in barracks, and made to serve as soldiers. Many of them forgot the faith of their fathers and became Christians. Thousands died of hardship and misery.

Nicholas I was determined to make a thorough job of it. He tried to establish schools to undermine the Jewish faith in the Talmud. He banished the Jews from one place and then another. He tried to drive them to the plow. In all things he succeeded but in one: at the very point of complete Russification and conversion his schemes failed.

His son, Alexander, saw the folly of his father's work. He

⁵ Russian society in the eighties was divided and hardened into a hierarchy of five social classes or orders: the nobles, the clergy, the merchants, the townspeople, and the peasants.

⁶ The partitions of Poland from 1772 to 1795 gave Russia the upper hand over millions of Jews in Lithuania, Western and Southwestern Russia, and Poland proper. The Jew was regarded as an alien, in government and religion, and special laws were created to keep him in his proper place. The first and most important of these laws limited their right of residence to the provinces which they had inhabited at the time of the Polish partitions.

inherited none of his father's conversion mania. Instead, he freed the serfs; stopped the official persecution of Jews; gave them more freedom of movement; ⁷ opened the schools and colleges to them.

Towards the end of his reign, however, the ghost of his father came to trouble him. He became less liberal. Jews were denied the right to open trade schools. In Odessa, in 1871, Jews were murdered in cold blood. The seed was sown that was to blossom into a bloody tree of torture and persecution.

POGROM!

On March 13, 1881, Alexander met his death at the hands of a nihilist, and the "Golden Age" of Russian Jewry was over. The death of Alexander II let loose all the hounds of religious bigotry which during his reign had been kept in leash. Now began one endless hideous nightmare of oppression, rioting, and bloodshed unparalleled by the wildest orgies of the Spanish Inquisition. The great bear showed its fangs; the land threw off its veneer of western culture and reverted to the barbarism of the Tartars. Anti-Semitism became one of the planks of the new government. Jew-baiting was adopted as a standing policy, and absolutism as the only safe principle for the maintenance of autocracy. Pobiedonostzev, the nineteenth century Torquemada, and procurator of the Holy Synod, proclaimed that it was Alexander III's policy towards the Jews to "force one-third of them to emigrate, another third to embrace Christianity, and the remainder to die of starvation."

Soon after the accession of Alexander III, in 1881, pogroms broke out in Yelisavetgrad, Kiev, Shpola, Ananiev, Wasilkov,

⁷ During the reign of Alexander II laws were enacted allowing certain classes of Jews to live outside the Pale. These were chiefly master-artisans, merchants, students and graduates of the universities, and professional men. Back of these laws was the desire of the government to relieve the intense competition in the Pale—especially harmful to Christian merchants—and to give the interior provinces of Russia the benefit of Jewish industry and brains.

Konotop, and a hundred-and-sixty other places. Thousands of homes were sacked and burned. Women were ravaged, and men and children maimed and murdered. The government wrapped its ermine closer, directed and inspired the persecutions, and hindered the Jews from defending themselves.⁸ In Kiev, Governor-General Drenelen refused to protect the Jews because "he would not endanger the lives of his soldiers for the sake of a few Jews."

These pogroms were but modest beginnings. On May 3, 1882, the infamous May Laws were promulgated.⁹ Jews of the fifteen governments of western Russia were expelled from the villages and rural districts and driven into the already overcrowded cities and towns. Leases and mortgages held by Jews on landed estates were cancelled. Two provinces were lopped off the Pale itself. Fires broke out in the Jewish settlements.

⁸ The government sent circulars to the various governors of the provinces informing them that the race riots were the result of economic exploitation of the Christian masses at the hands of the Jews. The theory that the economic misery of the Christian peasants was due to Jewish exploitation was carefully nurtured by the government and served as the "pièce de resistance" in its anti-Semitic propaganda. The peasants, easily won over by the facile and ingenious arguments of the government, were quick and pleased to recognize in the Jews the cause of their suffering. The government thus scored a double victory; first, in averting a civil uprising against itself; and second, in securing the support of the peasants against the Jews.

⁹ The May Laws sought, in the main, to accomplish three things:

- (1) Greater restriction of movement within and without the Pale;
- (2) Severing of connections and contacts between the Jews and the peasantry;
- (3) Debarring utilization of land by the Jews for either commercial, industrial, or agricultural purposes. The main clauses of the "Temporary Regulations," or May Laws, of 1882, were as follows:
 - a. As a temporary measure and until a general revision is made of the legal status of the Jews, they are forbidden to settle anew outside of towns and boroughs, an exception being made only in the case of existing Jewish agricultural colonies.
 - b. Until further orders, the execution of deeds of sale and mortgage in the names of Jews is forbidden, as well as the registration of Jews as lessees of real estate situated outside of towns and townlets, and also the issuing to Jews of powers of stewardship or attorney to manage and dispose of such real property.

The privileges granted by Alexander II were filched one by one. Between 1880 and 1890 large numbers of Jewish artisans were driven out of St. Petersburg. The number of Jewish students in the high schools and universities was greatly restricted.¹⁰ In 1891, 14,000 Jews were expelled from Moscow before they could collect their debts or belongings. Hundreds and thousands of Jews, half-crazed, rushed to baptism as their only salvation.

The Pale, at all times overcrowded, now became an inferno of suffering. Jews were expelled from Riga, Novgorod, Yalta, Kaluga, Ryazan, and Tula. The Pale burst with its mass of six million Jews. Suddenly, unable to bear it longer, they broke, half-starved, from the ghetto. Thousands, tens of thousands, hundreds of thousands fled the Pale in the greatest, wildest exodus in the history of the Jewish people. To Germany they fled, to Austria, France, England, Palestine, and America. Fully a million Jews left Russia between 1881 and 1900, and of these nearly 600,000 came to the United States.

FACTS AND FIGURES

Compared to the great Russian deluge of the late nineteenth century, the Sephardic immigration of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the German influx of the 40's and 50's were mild spring showers. Beginning in the first year of the Czar Alexander III's reign, Russian-Jewish immigration shows a steady growth, culminating in the year 1906, when 125,234 Russian Jews entered the United States. The years

¹⁰ In contrast to the preceding régime, the new government was opposed to the assimilation and Russification of the Jews, and set up barriers against possible cultural assimilation by restricting the enrollments of Jewish students in the high schools and universities. The "percentage rule" introduced in 1886 and 1887, restricted the proportion of Jewish students in the Pale to 10% of the total number of students admitted to institutions of higher learning, while outside of the Pale it was restricted to 5%, and in Moscow and St. Petersburg, 3%. The educational restrictions doomed the Jew culturally, just as the May Laws doomed him economically. The government worked with a vengeance.

of increased anti-Semitic extravagances in Russia are marked by corresponding increases in immigration figures. Thus the pogroms of 1881-82 were followed by a sudden rise in immigration in 1882; a similar rise occurred in 1887 following the "percentage rule"; the rumors of new restrictions in the early 90's let loose a tremendous stream of immigration in 1892, particularly in the months following the expulsion of the Jews from Moscow.

The leniency of Nicholas II during the beginning of his reign put a slight check to Russian-Jewish immigration in the years 1893 to 1898; figures begin to mount again in 1899, a year which ushered in a period of economic depression, revolutionary terrorism, and anti-Semitic propaganda; the Kishineff massacre of 1903 brought 77,544 Russian Jews to the United States in 1904—the greatest number up to this year. The figure rose to 92,388 in 1905, following the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war and the revolution; 1906 and 1907—years of pogrom and murder—marked the peak in Russian-Jewish immigration.

During the three decades from 1881 to 1910, 1,562,800 Jews thronged the ports of the United States. Of this number Russia contributed 1,119,059, or 71.6%; Austria-Hungary 281,150, or 17.9%; Rumania 67,057, or 4.3%; Great Britain 42,896, or 2.8%; British North America 9,706, or 0.6%; Germany 20,454, or 1.3%; Turkey 5,276, or 0.3%; France 2,299, or 0.2%; and all other countries 14,903, or 1.0% ¹¹

¹¹ Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1881 to 1910:

Year	Russia	Austria-Hungary	Rumania	Great Britain	Brit. N.A.	Germany	Turkey	France	All Others	Total
1881....	3,125	2,537	30	....	....	....	....	....	....	5,692
1882....	10,489	2,648	65	....	....	....	....	....	....	13,202
1883....	6,144	2,510	77	....	....	....	....	....	....	8,731
1884....	7,867	3,340	238	....	....	....	....	....	....	11,445
1885....	10,648	3,938	803	....	....	1,473	....	....	....	16,862
1886....	14,092	5,326	518	....	....	983	....	....	254	21,173
1887....	23,103	6,898	2,063	....	....	780	....	....	200	33,044
1888....	20,216	5,985	1,653	....	....	727	....	....	300	28,881
1889....	18,338	4,998	1,058	....	....	758	....	....	200	25,352
1890....	20,981	6,439	462	....	....	633	....	....	124	28,639
1891....	43,457	5,890	854	....	....	636	....	....	561	51,398
1892....	64,253	8,643	740	....	....	1,787	....	....	950	70,373
1893....	25,161	6,363	555	....	....	1,814	....	....	1,429	35,322
1894....	20,747	5,916	616	....	....	1,109	....	....	791	29,179
1895....	16,727	6,047	518	....	....	1,028	....	....	1,871	26,191

The proportion of Russian-Jewish immigrants to the total Russian immigration of the thirty year period was exceedingly high. Of the 213,282 Russian immigrants entering the United States in the decade from 1881 to 1890, 135,003 or 63.3% were Jews; in the second decade, from 1891 to 1900, Jews formed 55.4% of the total Russian immigration; and in the third decade, from 1901 to 1910, 704,245 of the 1,597,306 Russian immigrants, or 44.1%, were Jews. Although the Jews in Russia were less than one-twentieth of the total Russian population, they formed about half of the total Russian immigration.¹²

Year	Russia	Austria-Hungary	Rumania	Great Britain	Brit. N.A.	Germany	Turkey	France	All Others	Total
1896....	20,168	9,831	744	....	....	829	....	....	1,276	32,848
1897....	13,063	5,672	516	....	....	586	....	....	535	20,372
1898....	14,949	7,367	720	....	....	296	....	....	322	23,654
1899....	24,275	11,071	1,343	174	5	405	81	9	52	37,415
1900....	37,011	16,920	6,183	133	....	337	114	17	49	60,764
1901....	37,660	13,006	6,827	110	....	272	154	20	49	58,098
1902....	37,846	12,848	6,589	55	....	182	138	9	21	57,688
1903....	47,689	18,759	8,562	420	....	477	211	11	74	76,203
1904....	77,544	20,211	6,446	817	8	669	313	32	196	106,236
1905....	92,388	17,352	3,854	14,299	11	734	173	327	772	129,910
1906....	125,234	14,884	3,872	6,113	429	979	461	479	1,297	153,748
1907....	114,937	18,885	3,605	7,032	1,818	734	918	306	952	149,182
1908....	71,978	15,293	4,455	6,260	2,393	869	635	425	1,079	103,387
1909....	39,150	8,431	1,390	3,385	2,780	652	690	325	748	57,551
1910....	59,824	13,142	1,701	4,098	2,262	705	1,388	339	801	84,260
Total..	1,119,059	281,150	67,057	42,896	9,706	20,454	5,276	2,299	14,903	1,562,800

¹² Total Immigration from Russia and Jewish Immigration from Russia, 1881 to 1910, and Jewish percentage of Total:

Year	Total Immigrants	Jewish Immigrants	Percent of Total
1881	5,041	3,125	61.6
1882	16,918	10,489	61.5
1883	9,909	6,144	60.9
1884	12,689	7,867	60.0
1885	17,158	10,648	62.0
1886	17,800	14,092	79.2
1887	30,766	23,102	75.1
1888	33,487	20,316	60.4
1889	33,916	18,338	54.1
1890	35,598	20,981	58.9
Total for Decade.....	213,282	135,003	63.3

Of equal significance is the proportion of Jewish immigrants to the total immigration to the United States during these thirty years of mass movements. Between the years 1881 and 1890, 5,246,613 immigrants came to the United States. Of this number 193,021, or 3.7%, were Jews. In the following decade Jewish immigration accounted for 10.7% of the total immigration. And in the third decade, between 1901 and 1910, the proportion of Jewish immigrants to the total rose to 11.1%. For the entire thirty year period the Jewish immigration was

Year	Total Immigrants	Jewish Immigrants	Percent of Total
1891	47,426	43,457	91.6
1892	81,511	64,253	78.8
1893	42,310	25,161	59.5
1894	39,278	20,747	52.8
1895	35,907	16,727	43.2
1896	51,435	20,168	39.2
1897	25,816	13,063	50.6
1898	29,828	14,949	50.1
1899	60,982	24,275	39.8
1900	90,787	37,011	40.8
Total for Decade.....	505,280	279,811	55.4
1901	85,257	37,660	44.2
1902	107,347	37,846	35.3
1903	136,093	47,689	35.0
1904	145,141	77,544	53.4
1905	184,897	92,388	50.0
1906	215,665	125,234	58.1
1907	258,943	114,932	44.4
1908	156,711	71,978	45.9
1909	120,460	39,150	32.5
1910	186,792	59,824	32.1
Total for Decade.....	1,597,306	704,245	44.1
Grand Total	2,315,868	1,119,059	48.3

8.8% of the total immigration¹⁸—the highest of any immigrant people.

¹⁸ Comparison of Jewish Immigration to Total Immigration to The United States, 1881-1910, and Jewish Percentage of Total:

Year	Total Immigrants	Jewish Immigrants	Percent of Total
1881	669,431	5,692	.9
1882	788,992	13,202	1.7
1883	603,322	8,731	1.4
1884	518,592	11,445	2.2
1885	395,346	16,862	4.3
1886	334,203	21,173	6.3
1887	490,109	33,044	6.7
1888	546,889	28,881	5.3
1889	444,427	25,352	5.7
1890	455,302	28,639	6.3
Total for Decade....	5,246,613	193,021	3.7
1891	560,319	51,398	9.2
1892	579,663	76,373	13.2
1893	439,730	35,322	8.0
1894	285,631	29,179	10.2
1895	258,536	26,191	10.1
1896	343,267	32,848	9.6
1897	230,832	20,372	8.8
1898	229,299	23,654	10.7
1899	311,715	37,415	12.0
1900	448,572	60,764	13.5
Total for Decade.....	3,687,564	393,516	10.7
1901	487,918	58,098	12.1
1902	648,743	57,688	12.1
1903	857,046	76,203	8.9
1904	812,870	106,236	11.8
1905	1,026,499	129,910	12.6
1906	1,100,735	153,748	13.4
1907	1,285,349	149,182	11.6
1908	782,870	103,387	13.2
1909	751,786	57,551	7.7
1910	1,041,570	84,260	8.1
Total for Decade.....	8,795,386	976,263	11.1
Grand Total	17,729,563	1,562,800	8.8

*JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM RUMANIA AND
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY*

The great wave of Jewish immigration from Eastern Europe was fed through three streams: Russia-Poland, Rumania, and Austria-Hungary. The first was by far the deepest and the broadest, contributing nearly three-fourths of the entire immigration, and dominating and coloring the entire westward movement.

The Jews of Rumania and Austria-Hungary were, in essential respects, very much like their Russian and Polish brethren. They bore the same scars of oppression; their eyes held the same fears; their hearts the same staunch faith.

The Rumanian Jew of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was the middleman, the business man, the industrialist, the entrepreneur, the artisan.¹⁴ Of workers such as watch-makers, tinnern, tailors, glazers, painters, and bookbinders, nearly two-thirds were Jews. One-fourth of all master-workmen in Rumania were Jews, and in the garment industries fully one-third. Two out of every three Jewish industrial workers were either tailors, shoemakers, tinnern, joiners, planers, or bakers.

The Jews of Rumania, like their Russian brethren, were city dwellers. 80% of the Jews dwelt in towns. In the department-capitals 20% of the population were Jews,¹⁵ and in other towns, 10%.

Conditions were more or less similar in Austria-Hungary, although here we find the vocational emphasis shifted from in-

¹⁴ Fully one-fifth of the large industries in Rumania were in the hands of Jewish industrialists; while in the glass, clothing, furniture, and textile industries, one-fourth to one-half the total number of entrepreneurs were Jews. While the Rumanian Jews took a lesser part in commerce than in industry, yet one-fifth of those who paid the merchant license-tax in 1904 were Jews.

¹⁵ In some of the department capitals the Jews formed a majority of the total population.

dustry to commerce. Forty-four percent of the Jews were engaged in commerce and trade; 29% in industry; and 11% in agriculture. Five times as many non-Jews, relatively, as Jews were engaged in agriculture, and one-fifth as many, relatively, in trade and commerce. While the Jews were predominant in commerce and industry—in Galicia more than half the Jewish working population was engaged in these two branches—the non-Jews clung to the land.

Galicia claimed most of the Austro-Hungarian Jews. In East Galicia 13% of the total population were Jews. Ninety-two percent of all engaged in commerce were Jews, and in industry, 48%. In West Galicia, where Jews formed 8% of the total population, 82% of all merchants, and 33% of all industrial workers, business men, and entrepreneurs were Jews.

As in Russia and Rumania, the Jews of Austria-Hungary were found mainly in the cities and the trade-markets. Relatively five times as many Jews as non-Jews were urban. In Galicia, where Jews constituted 11% of the total population, they formed 37% of the large town population. In the two chief cities of Galicia—Lemberg and Cracow—they constituted a third of the total population.

It can be thus seen that the Jews of Eastern Europe, whether in Russia, Rumania, or Austria-Hungary, presented strikingly similar characteristics. They formed the backbone of industry and commerce, they bought and sold the fruits of the soil, they created markets for the farmer, they formed a large proportion of the artisan class. They lived in cities, and were the brains behind the dollar. . . .

Most of the Austro-Hungarian Jewish immigrants came from Galicia. Here, as in Russia, the last vestiges of medievalism still clung to the land, although feudal services and dues had been abolished in 1867. A large, lean peasant class dropped their years like seeds into the soil, while a few fat landowners stored the fruits.

The Jews in Galicia, like elsewhere, were the middle class.

Above them were the sleek Polish hounds of nobility; below them the half-starved Polish and Ruthenian peasantry.

The Galician Jew got it from all sides. The Catholic clergy pursued a systematic and intensive campaign of anti-Semitism and hatred; the Poles engineered general boycotts against Jewish merchants; the loutish peasants blamed the Jews for the avarice of the nobles, and the raw misery of their own lot. Cooperative agencies were created to foster the growth of the Christian artisan and merchant class; and laws were passed limiting the entrance of Jews into the universities and the professions. Absurd charges of ritual-murder were brought against the Jews, and the whole machinery of political and organized anti-Semitism—under the inspired leadership of the Christian-Socialists—was set in motion.

It was even worse in Rumania. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century, the Jews of Moldavia—the province from which most of the Rumanian Jews emigrated—were regarded as aliens, and denied civil and political rights. Special laws were devised forbidding them to own real estate, or buy the products of the soil. Other laws limited and restricted their residence and movement, and left them liable to expulsion from the country as vagabonds.

Such were the conditions of the Jews in Rumania, when, at the famous Berlin Congress in 1877, the subject of Jewish disabilities in Rumania was brought up, in connection with Rumania's demand to be recognized as an independent state. The representatives of England, France, and Germany raised objections against the illiberal treatment the Jews were receiving in Rumania, and the Congress finally decided to recognize her independence only on the condition that she grant civil and political equality to all her citizens regardless of race or creed.¹⁶

¹⁶ The liberal attitude of the three Powers, which was set forth in Article 44 of the Berlin Treaty, read as follows:

"Article 44. In Rumania, difference in religious beliefs and confessions shall not be brought against any one as a ground for exclusion or unfitness as regards the enjoyment of civil or political rights, admission to public offices, functions, and honors, or the exercise of various pro-

Rumania received the liberal pronouncement like a stiff blow. At the constitutional assembly which convened soon after to discuss the perplexing question of Jewish equality, the middle and upper classes protested vigorously to the granting of any Jewish privileges, holding that Rumania was a Christian-Latin state, and the Jews an alien and utterly unassimilable element in the population. In order, however, to meet the demands of the higher Powers, who apparently stood pat on their political ultimatum, the Rumanian government adopted the conciliatory principle of individual naturalization, by which an alien could be granted naturalization individually and only by a special vote of the Chamber of Deputies. After a year of political dickerings between Rumania and the Powers, the latter agreed to recognize the independence of Rumania, admitting at the same time the inadequacy of the revised article.

By the beginning of the 80's, eight hundred and eighty-three Jews who had fought for Rumanian independence against Turkey were naturalized. The hundreds of thousands of other Jewish subjects were classed as "foreigners not subject to any foreign power." Although stateless, according to these words, they were nevertheless subject to all the obligations and burdens of Rumanian citizenship, including taxation and military service.

Once free of the control of the Powers, Rumania girded up her Christian-Latin loins for a new campaign of vigorous Jew-baiting. Jews were driven out from the rural districts, and hundreds were expelled as vagabonds. A law prohibiting hawking from house to house was designed principally to deprive Jewish peddlers of their livelihood. The rack was tightened

fessions and industries in any place whatever. Freedom in outward observance of all creeds will be assured to all subjects of the Rumanian state, as well as to strangers, and no obstacle will be raised either to the ecclesiastical organization of different bodies, or to their intercourse with spiritual heads.

"The citizens of all states, whether merchants or others, shall be dealt with in Rumania without distinction of religion, on the basis of perfect equality."

in 1886 and 1887 with more stringent anti-Semitic legislation, which had for its chief purpose the creation of a national industry and commerce, and the curbing of Jewish economic activity. Jews were excluded from employment in financial institutions and the state railway service. A law passed as late as 1902 revived the medieval guild organizations and practically deprived Jewish artisans of the chance of making a living.¹⁷ Conditions became continually worse as the germ of anti-Semitism ate its rotten way to the core of the nation. Jews were gradually excluded from the schools.¹⁸ Certain professions were denied them. One occupation after another was closed to them. Frequently, when feeling ran high, there were riots and massacres. Schemingly, methodically, the government pursued a conscious, deliberate policy of making Rumania a hell for the Jews. Then maddened, tortured, they plunged out of the hell, and joined the great stream westward. . . .

Jewish immigration from Austria-Hungary began in a thin stream in the 70's, broadened in the 80's, and reached its real flow in the 90's. In the first decade, from 1881 to 1890, 44,619 Austro-Hungarian Jews, or 15.9% of the total, came to the United States. The second decade brought 83,720 immigrants, or 29.8% of the total. And in the last decade came 152,811 immigrants, or 54% of the total. The peak in Austro-Hungarian immigration was reached in 1904, two years before the

¹⁷ The Artisans' Bill, passed in 1902, required every artisan to secure a certificate from a guild. In order to secure this certificate aliens had to prove that similar rights existed in their own country for Rumanians. Being subject to no foreign power, the Jew was hardly in a position to prove this.

¹⁸ In 1887 a circular issued by the minister of public instruction ordered that Rumanian children be given preference in elementary schools, where there was not room enough for all. Six years later, in 1893, aliens were required to pay entrance fees in the public schools, and were admitted only in case there was room enough for them. Restrictions were even more severe in the secondary schools and the universities. Jews were entirely excluded from schools of agriculture, forestry, and commerce.

high-point in the Russian influx, when 20,211 Jews, or 7.2% of the total, arrived in the United States.¹⁹

Rumanian-Jewish immigration to the United States became significant in the third decade of the thirty-year period. In the three decades between 1881 and 1910, 67,057 Rumanian Jews swarmed the shores of America. 10.4% of the total ar-

¹⁹ Jewish Immigration from Austria-Hungary, 1881 to 1910:

Year	Jewish Immigrants	Percent of Total
1881	2,537	.9
1882	2,648	.9
1883	2,510	.9
1884	3,340	1.2
1885	3,938	1.4
1886	5,326	1.9
1887	6,898	2.4
1888	5,985	2.1
1889	4,998	1.8
1890	6,439	2.3
Total for Decade.....	44,619	15.9
1891	5,890	2.1
1892	8,643	3.1
1893	6,363	2.3
1894	5,916	2.1
1895	6,047	2.2
1896	9,831	3.5
1897	5,672	2.0
1898	7,367	2.6
1899	11,071	3.9
1900	16,920	6.0
Total for Decade.....	83,720	29.8
1901	13,006	4.6
1902	12,848	4.6
1903	18,759	6.7
1904	20,211	7.2
1905	17,352	6.2
1906	14,884	5.3
1907	18,885	6.7
1908	15,293	5.4
1909	8,431	3.0
1910	13,142	4.7
Total for Decade.....	152,811	54.3
Grand Total	281,150	100.0

rived during the first decade; 19.1% during the second decade; and 70.5% during the third.²⁰

As in the case with Russian immigration, Rumanian immigration figures fluctuated in accordance with conditions in the home country. The hawker's law of 1884 sent 805 Rumanian Jews to the United States. The severe anti-Semitic laws of 1887 were directly responsible for the exodus of 1888 and

²⁰ Jewish Immigration from Rumania, 1881-1910:

Year	Jewish Immigrants	Percent of Total
1881	30	.0
1882	65	.1
1883	77	.1
1884	238	.3
1885	803	1.2
1886	518	.8
1887	2,063	3.1
1888	1,653	2.5
1889	1,058	1.6
1890	462	.7
Total for Decade.....	6,967	10.4
1891	854	1.3
1892	740	1.1
1893	555	.8
1894	616	.9
1895	518	.8
1896	744	1.1
1897	516	.8
1898	720	1.1
1899	1,343	2.0
1900	6,183	9.2
Total for Decade.....	12,789	19.1
1901	6,827	10.2
1902	6,589	9.8
1903	8,562	12.8
1904	6,446	9.6
1905	3,854	5.7
1906	3,872	5.8
1907	3,605	5.4
1908	4,455	6.6
1909	1,390	2.1
1910	1,701	2.5
Total for Decade.....	47,301	70.5
Grand Total	67,057	100.0

1889. The next decade was comparatively quiet, only to start off with a bang in 1900, when Rumania applied herself again to the task of breaking the Jewish spine. Between 1900 and 1904 (1903 was the peak year), following the resumption of official anti-Semitism, Rumanian-Jewish immigration reached its high water mark. In these years more than half the total number of Rumanian-Jewish immigrants arrived in America.

ASPECTS OF JEWISH IMMIGRATION FROM EASTERN EUROPE

Jewish immigration to the United States from Eastern Europe during the years 1881 to 1910 presents certain features which not only distinguish it from the mass immigration of non-Jewish peoples during these same years, but explain, in part, the tremendous advance made by the Eastern European Jew in the New World.

One of the chief characteristics of the Jewish immigration was its stability of character. Objective evidence of this stability is seen in the high degree of permanency of settlement. The Jewish immigrant from Eastern Europe was not a fly-by-night or an adventurer. He came purposeful, with death at his heels. He left a country to which he had no desire to return. In the period from 1908 to 1912 417,016 Jews came to the United States, or an annual immigration average of 83,400. During these same years (no reliable emigration figures are obtainable prior to 1908) 33,315 Jewish aliens left the country, or an annual emigration average of 6,660.²¹ Of even greater

²¹ Jewish Immigration and Emigration Figures, 1908 to 1912:

Year	Jewish Immigrants	Jewish Emigrants	Percent Emigration
1908	103,387	7,702	7
1909	57,551	6,105	10
1910	84,260	5,689	6
1911	91,223	6,401	7
1912	80,595	7,418	9
Total	417,016	33,315	8

significance is the fact that while the Jewish immigration of these years constituted 9.7% of the total immigration, the proportion of Jewish emigrants to the total emigration was only 2%.²² With the possible exception of the Irish, the Jews had the smallest outward movement of any immigrant people.

This permanency of Jewish settlement in the United States may be attributed largely to two factors: one, the politico-anti-Semitic conditions in Eastern Europe; two, family migrations. The first factor has already been touched upon. The Jews left nothing in Eastern Europe to tempt them back. They left only suffering and murder. The second factor is of large significance. The Jewish movement was essentially a family movement. Husbands and wives and children made up the great Jewish immigrant army. In the years from 1899 to 1910, 56.6% of the total Jewish immigration were males, and 43.4% females.²³ During the same years, nearly 25% of the total

²² Comparison of Jewish Emigration and Immigration to Total Emigration and Immigration, 1908-1912:

Year	Total Imm.	Jew. Imm.	Jew. Imm. %	Total Emi.	Jew. Emi.	Jew. Emi. %
1908	782,870	103,387	13.2	381,044	7,702	2.2
1909	751,876	57,551	7.7	225,802	6,105	2.7
1910	1,041,570	84,260	8.1	202,436	5,689	2.8
1911	878,587	91,223	10.4	295,666	6,401	2.1
1912	838,172	80,595	9.5	333,262	7,418	2.2
Total ...	4,293,075	417,016	9.7	1,438,210	33,315	2.3

²³ Sex of Jewish Immigrants, 1899-1910:

Year	Male	Female	Percent Male	Percent Female
1899	21,153	16,262	56.5	43.5
1900	36,330	24,434	59.8	40.2
1901	32,345	25,753	55.7	44.3
1902	32,737	24,951	56.7	44.3
1903	43,985	32,218	57.7	42.3
1904	65,040	41,196	61.2	38.8
1905	82,076	47,834	63.2	36.8
1906	80,086	73,662	52.1	47.9
1907	80,530	68,652	54.0	46.0
1908	56,277	47,110	54.4	45.6
1909	31,057	26,494	54.0	46.0
1910	46,206	38,054	54.8	45.2
Total	607,822	466,620	56.6	43.4

Jewish immigration were children under fourteen years of age.²⁴

The almost equal distribution of males and females, and the unusually high proportion of children, bespeak clearly a family migration. While female aliens formed nearly 50% of the total Jewish immigration, the proportion among the non-Jews from Eastern Europe was generally less than 30%. The contrast is even more marked in the case of children under fourteen. With the exception of the Bohemians and the Moravians—whose character of immigration in respect to sex and age distribution closely resembled that of the Jews—the highest proportion of children to total non-Jewish immigration was 9.5%, as compared to 24.9% for the Jews.

Family movements are permanent movements,—except in peoples chronically migratory. In the case of the Jews, however, this family aspect denoted not only the existence of a great and imminent need to migrate, but an equally great need to make a permanent home wherever fortune and fate permitted.

In estimating the influence of the Eastern European Jew upon the life and career of the American nation—and that influence has certainly been greater than that of any other alien people of the last thirty years—destination, or place of immigrant settlement, must be considered a factor of no little im-

²⁴ Age of Jewish Immigrants, 1899-1910:

Year				Percent		
	Under 14	14-44	45 and Over	Under 14	14-44	45 and Over
1899	8,987	26,019	2,409	24.0	69.5	6.5
1900	13,092	44,239	3,433	21.6	72.8	5.6
1901	14,731	39,830	3,537	25.4	68.6	6.0
1902	15,312	38,937	3,439	26.5	67.5	6.0
1903	19,044	53,074	4,085	25.0	69.6	5.4
1904	23,529	77,224	5,483	22.1	72.7	5.2
1905	28,553	95,964	5,393	22.0	73.9	4.1
1906	43,620	101,875	8,253	28.4	66.2	5.4
1907	37,696	103,779	7,707	25.3	69.5	5.2
1908	26,013	71,388	5,986	25.1	69.1	5.8
1909	15,210	38,465	3,876	26.5	66.7	6.8
1910	21,869	57,191	5,200	26.0	67.9	6.1
Total	267,256	747,985	58,801	24.9	69.6	5.5

portance. One might easily conjecture how different the face of America might look if the Jews from the Eastern Europe had settled, say, along the Mississippi valley, or on the plains of Kansas and Wyoming, instead of in the states on the eastern coast.

The Jew from Eastern Europe was a business man, trader, artisan. He was a city man. Agriculture and rural life held little appeal for him. When he came to America he headed straight for the big business and industrial centers. He had to work, to make a living. In 1881—and indeed, almost up to the present day—the east was the liveliest, busiest part of America. So to the east he went, to the Atlantic States, to New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Jersey, Pennsylvania. . . . Of the total number of Jewish immigrants from 1889 to 1910, 923,549, or 86%, named the North Atlantic States as their destination; 110,998, or 10.3%, named the North Central States; and less than 5% named all the other sections.

The greatest number by far—690,296, or 64.2% of the total—gave New York as their destination; Pennsylvania was second with 108,534, or 10.1% of the total; and Massachusetts third with 66,023, or 6.1% of the total. These three states alone harbored 80% of the Jewish arrivals.

Among the North Central States, Illinois ran first with 50,931 immigrants, or 4.7% of the total; Ohio came next with 20,531, or 1.9% of the total; and Maryland, in the South Central division, was a length behind with 18,700 immigrants, or 1.7% of the total.²⁵

Two other aspects remain to be considered; namely, the mental and occupational equipment of the immigrant Jew. Mentally, as measured in the ability to read and write, the immigrant Jew was on a par with the average immigrant. Of the 806,786 immigrant Jews fourteen years of age and over who came to the United States between the years 1899 and 1910, 597,279, or 74%, were able to read and write, as compared to

²⁵ Destination of Jewish Immigrants by Principal States, 1899-1910:

73.3% among the total immigration of the same period. The rate of literacy among the Jewish males was considerably higher than among the females, being about 81% for the one, and only 63% for the other.²⁶

In regard to vocation, 45.1% of the total Jewish immigration, of the years between 1899 and 1910, constituted a non-occupational group. This figure may be considered low in view of the large proportion of females and children in the immigrant band. The next largest group, constituting 36.8% of the total, was comprised of skilled workers. A third group, comprised of farm laborers, servants, merchants, dealers, and common work-hands, made up 17.4% of the total. While a fourth group, including all professional men, accounted for .7% of the total.

The skilled laborers—constituting 67.1% of the occupational group—represented thirty-five different trades. First came the tailors, comprising 36.6% of the skilled labor group. Next came the carpenters, joiners, and cabinetmakers, with a little more than 10% of the labor group; then, in order, the

State	Jewish Immigrants	Percent of Total
New York	690,296	64.2
Pennsylvania	108,534	10.1
Massachusetts	66,023	6.1
Illinois	50,931	4.7
New Jersey	34,279	3.2
Ohio	20,531	1.9
Maryland	18,700	1.7
Connecticut	16,254	1.5
Missouri	12,476	1.2
Minnesota	7,029	.7
Wisconsin	6,369	.6
Michigan	5,970	.6
Rhode Island	5,023	.5
All others	31,989	3.0
Total	1,074,404	100.0

²⁶ The high rate of illiteracy among the Jewish females was due to the common and peculiar belief of the Eastern European Jews that women had no need of formal education. The unusually high percentage of females among the Jewish immigrants explains the rather low rate of literacy in the Jewish immigrant group as a whole. Of the Jewish immigrant males entering the United States between 1908 and 1912, only 19.7% were illiterates; while among the women 36.8% were illiterates.

shoemakers, clerks and accountants, painters and glaziers, butchers and bakers, locksmiths and blacksmiths, clock-makers, tobacco workers, hat and cap makers, barbers and hair-dressers, weavers and spinners, tanners and curriers, furriers and book-binders, photographers and upholsterers, masons, mechanics, printers, saddlers, harness-makers, milliners, machinists, jewelers, and millers.

In the professional group teachers formed the largest bloc, musicians next, engineers third, writers and scientists fourth, electricians fifth, artists sixth, then, in order, clergymen, physicians, actors, architects, editors, lawyers, and government officials.

THE IMMIGRANT

The Russian-Jewish immigrants who came to the United States during this period were divided into three economic and social groups. The first, and largest, group consisted of skilled workers and artisans; the second of business men, merchants, and money lenders; and the third of so-called intellectuals, professional men, and students.

The first two groups came mostly from the small towns of the Pale, where for hundreds of years Jews had led an isolated existence, and had built up a peculiar community life of their own. The roots of their lives went deep into religious tradition; their faith was their staff; the synagogue the axis upon which their communal life revolved; the *cheder*, or Hebrew religious school, the crucible in which religion and faith were perpetuated. They were an orthodox, pious, God-fearing people. They observed strictly the festivals, the fast-days, and the Sabbath. The rabbi was the most respected man in the community. Learning was revered, and knowledge of the Torah was considered the greatest of all possessions.

There were strict class distinctions in even the smallest Jewish communities in the Pale. The business men and the merchants were the aristocracy. They educated their sons, and

married their daughters to men of learning. They looked down upon the artisan—especially the tailor or cobbler—as an ignoramus and a nobody. They lorded it over the working class, and received all the honors in the synagogue. The artisan felt himself very humble and dreamed in the long hours of the night of some day escaping from his lower depths and becoming—with the help of God—a business man himself.

So he dreamed, while the years hammered away at him; and in the little towns of the Russian Pale the people would talk in awed tones of "Columbus' Country," across the sea where work was not considered shameful, and where everybody had a chance to work himself up into business or the learned professions. So the immigrant looked forward not only to escape from political oppression in the New World, but towards economic and social equality and the chance to rise into a higher social class.

But many of these dreamers were destined to be disappointed. Arriving penniless in the "golden land" they fell into the sweatshops where hours were long and life hard and bitter. Soon, too soon, they learned that in America, as in Pitchutz, the rich man, the "boss," was the aristocrat and the master to whom all bowed and gave honor. But there were years before the grave, and if one could only work and bear the purgatory a little longer, a business paradise might yet be his. So he slaved long hours, and put penny to penny, and dreamed his dream.

The mental outlook of the third class of Russian Jewish immigrants—the intellectuals—was quite different from that of the other two groups. There were, to be exact, two types of intellectuals: those who had been educated primarily in Hebrew, known as the *maskilim*; and those who had received their education in the Russian high schools and universities.

The *maskilim*, though serious students of Hebrew lore and the Talmud, had been caught in the strong currents of liberalism which were raging through Europe, and had developed a tremendous enthusiasm for liberalism in all its forms. They

had revolted against the traditional and ritualized organization of Jewish life, and some had even become agnostics and atheists. The small Jewish settlements of Eastern Europe cramped them like a vise, and they fled to America in the hope of finding freedom, especially in thought and education.

The second type of intellectual—the high school or university student—had undergone a fairly complete process of intellectual and cultural Russification. Some had joined the secret Revolutionary societies of Russia, Poland, and Austria, and had learned something about social reform, labor movements, socialism, and anarchism. A few had been in Berlin, Paris, and London, and were cosmopolitans. They spoke Russian or German, knew very little Hebrew, and scorned Yiddish.

Finding the doors of the higher institutions of learning slowly closing on them; in imminent danger of life-long exile to Siberia for their Revolutionary activities—hot headed, turbulent, hungry for learning—they joined the great stream to America.

THE JEW AND THE HOE

While the great mass of Russian-Jewish immigrants were moved mostly by economic considerations, the intellectuals were animated largely by idealistic and political motives. Some of them were interested in founding Jewish agricultural colonies, and fell in with all sorts of fantastic schemes. They would transplant the immigrant from the city to green pastures. They would take him from the sweat-shop and make a farmer of him. They would start a "back-to-nature" movement.

No time was lost. In Russia in 1881, soon after the massacres of Yelisavetgrad and Kiev, a society of prospective immigrants were organized under the name of "Am Olam" (The Eternal People), with branches in Odessa, Kiev, Vilna, Riga, and other large cities. In October, 1881, poet Herman Rosenthal, head of the society, sailed for America with several hun-

dred immigrants, most of them intellectuals, who had sold their all, and were burning with eagerness to test their ideals in the New World.

Rosenthal had no money, but a committee from New York—consisting of Myer S. Isaacs, M. Ellinger, Dr. Julius Goldman, Charles L. Bernheim, and Henry S. Henry—acting for the Alliance Israelite Universelle, advanced him twenty-eight hundred dollars, and with this small sum Rosenthal proceeded to Louisiana with the hundred and seventy-three men and women who were to form the colony.

The first Jewish agricultural colony of the period was founded on Sicily Island, Catahoula Parish, Louisiana. The settlers included thirty-five families from Kiev and twenty-five from Yelisavetgrad, and were headed by Rosenthal, who chose to work independently of the newly organized Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society and the Montefiore Agricultural Aid Society, which was called into being by Michael Heilprin, who, more than any one else, sought to organize ways and means of aiding the refugees of the Russian pogroms.

All was not as rosy as had been anticipated. It was soon discovered that the five-thousand acres which had been purchased were insufficient for the needs of the colonists. Besides, the housing was bad—the immigrants being forced to occupy former slave barracks. But the colonists were undaunted. They entered upon their work with a great zeal. The earth split beneath the plow. The fields turned over for the seed. The Jew had returned to the land.

Helped greatly by the New Orleans branch of the Alliance Universelle with horses, cattle, farm implements, supplies, and lumber, the colonists conquered the first stubbornness of the soil, and hopes ran high. Then one spring day the Mississippi rose turbulent from its bed and swept away crops and houses and barns, causing a damage of about twenty thousand dollars. It was more than the colonists could stand. They broke up; scattered in all directions. Some went to the cities where they

became shop-workers, storekeepers, and peddlers. Rosenthal went to New York and bided his time.

A few months passed, and in the summer of 1882, Rosenthal, with twenty families in his train—among whom were some of the erstwhile colonists from Louisiana—founded the "Cremieux" colony in the southeastern part of South Dakota. Things looked a little better here. Most of the settlers had a little money, and during the first year crops were good. Oats, wheat, rye, and barley were sown, and flax was raised. But in the second year misfortune returned. Between the ravages of the wheat-bug and a severe heat and drought the crops were destroyed and the cattle killed. In the third year it was even worse due to destructive thunder storms. Hopes were by this time thinned of all body, and in 1885 the colonists admitted defeat.

Michael Heilprin took a great interest in the South Dakota experiment, and tried his best to make the colonists stick it out. The Alliance Universelle made another attempt to found a colony in South Dakota—the "Bethlehem Yehuda"—but this fared no better than the first. Other colonies founded during this period, with the aid of Heilprin, were the "New Odessa" in Oregon; the "Montefiore," "Lasker," "Hebron," "Gilead," "Touro," and "Leeser" colonies in Kansas; the "Palestine" in Michigan; the "Washington" and "Waterview" in Virginia; the "Chesterfield" in Connecticut; the "Alliance," "Rosenhayn," "Woodbine," "Montefiore," "May's Landing," "Halberton," "Malaga," and "Hightstown" in New Jersey.

The colonies founded in North and South Dakota, Oregon, Michigan, and Colorado were soon dim memories. The "New Odessa" colony—a communistic settlement—lasted from 1883 to 1887. The colonies in New Jersey, and those founded later in Connecticut, were more successful,—the "Woodbine," in Cape May county, New Jersey, founded with the aid of the Baron de Hirsch fund, becoming in time the most thriving Jewish agricultural settlement in the United States.

The agricultural movement was on the whole a failure. The Jew was too long estranged from the land to return to it. By instinct and nature he was a city-dweller, a trader, and an artisan. The Jewish farmer remains to the last a business man. Of the hundred thousand Jewish farmers now in the United States, many are engaged as truck gardeners or owners of summer resorts. The soil has gone out of his bones.

SOCIALISM AND THE RISE OF THE JEWISH PROLETARIAT

The return to nature proving an economic fiasco, many of the intellectual turned their eyes and hearts from the soil and settled in the "Communes" in New York City. Socialists or anarchists, nearly all of them, they formed the leaven which produced trade unionism among their countrymen in America. Between 1882 and 1886 they formed a number of societies for self-education and propaganda. The Yiddishe Arbeiter Verein was the center of socialist propaganda from 1885 to 1887; while the anarchists formed their own organizations such as the Pioneers of Freedom and the Knights of Freedom. Chief among the socialists were Abe Cahan, editor of the socialist weekly, the *Neue Zeit*; Louis Miller—also a noted journalist; M. Zametkin; Philip Kranz; Morris Winchevski; and Morris Hillquit—often called the brains of the socialist party in America. Among the active anarchists were Roman Lewis, Dr. Zolotaroff, S. Yanofsky, Dr. J. Maryson, H. Weinberg, M. Katz, and Dr. Michael Cohn.

Although the intellectuals constituted a very small minority of the immigrant class, they made up in zeal what they lacked in numbers. Working side by side with their brethren in the sweatshops, they won the confidence of their fellow workers, taught them how to battle against the bosses, and aided them in their strikes. They founded unions, led the workers into fields of learning, and won their undying gratitude. Many of

the workers adopted the principles of socialism and anarchism with the fervor of religious fanatics, and became inspired with the ideal of social revolt.

For the first time, now, in the history of American Jewry a Jewish proletariat arose. Heretofore, most of the Jews had been merchants, peddlers, and independent artisans. But now they came in such great numbers that trade or peddling could not absorb them all. They went into the shops and factories, and the ghetto became a hideous reality.

It was fortunate that the older Jewish settlers in America had by this time achieved economic security, and that there were numerous organizations on hand to offer aid to the refugees of the Russian pogroms, for the needs of the immigrants were many, and their great and sudden influx into the country had created a prejudice against them among the general populace.

THE IMMIGRANT AT WORK

The majority of the immigrant Jews flocked to the clothing trades. There were good reasons for this: first, nearly half the Russian Jewish artisans were tailors or garment workers; second, needle work was easy to learn; third, the work did not require a sturdy physique; and fourth, the needle trades permitted the observance of the Sabbath.

Fortunately, it was not hard for the immigrant to get a job. The clothing trade needed men badly. Many got jobs as soon as they stepped off the boat. On the east side of New York was a sort of employment exchange called the "pig market," where immigrants and shop owners, or their foremen, could gather and talk terms.

The immigrant Jew slaved away from morning to night, his back bent over the machine, his muscles weary. Fifteen, sixteen hours a day in a tenement sweatshop hurry the years to the grave. But the Russian Jew was compounded of some rare stamina. The will to succeed, to become independent, to edu-

cate his children, kept his spirit and body alive. He worked himself to the bone, saved half of his miserable weekly pittance, and sent for his family in Russia. Exploited right and left, he managed yet to thrive. Add penny to penny, and soon there is enough to rent or buy a sewing machine. In this way many of the immigrants became small bosses or contractors; many started their own shops; and gradually, before one could tell how it happened, the clothing manufacturing business passed out of the hands of the wealthy German Jews into the hands of the Russians.

New blood can work a miracle. The German Jew had built the clothing business into a tremendous machine, but it was the Russian Jew who brought it to where it is now. In the thirty years from 1881 to 1910 the capitalization of the clothing industry grew from sixty million to nearly a billion dollars.

CHARITY AND THE BARON DE HIRSCH FUND

After the first riots in Yelisavetgrad and Kiev, Jews, and even Gentiles, rose in protest. A "call for a meeting of the citizens of New York without distinction of creed, to be held on Wednesday evening, February 1, 1882 . . . for the purpose of expressing their sympathy with the persecuted Hebrews in the Russian Empire" was signed by ex-President Grant, and by about seventy-five of the most prominent Jewish citizens of New York. The mass meeting, presided over by Mayor William R. Grace of New York City, was held in Chickering Hall, and was addressed by various men of distinction, including three Christian clergymen. Two weeks later a similar meeting was held in Philadelphia, which included among its speakers two Protestant Bishops and a Catholic Archbishop. Meanwhile the Immigrant Aid Society busied itself in more practical matters, and succeeded in raising more than \$300,000 for the immigrant refugees; while the earlier groups of immigrants were given a public welcome and were housed and maintained

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Ten years after the first great wave of Russian-Jewish immigration swept the country the Jewish Alliance of America was incorporated. The main purpose of the Alliance was to bring together the German and Russian elements in order that the latter might help bear the burden of charities which the German Jews said was becoming too heavy for them. On February 19, 1891, delegates from nineteen cities met at Philadelphia, and adopted a constitution for the Alliance. Simon Muhr, a philanthropist of Philadelphia, was elected president, Bernard Harris, secretary, and Simon Wolf, treasurer. The plan of the leaders was "to unite in a common bond for the purpose of more effectually coping with the grave problems presented by enforced emigration. . . ." Thirty-one branches of the Alliance were formed throughout the country. In 1892 the Alliance joined forces with "The American Jewish Committee for Ameliorating the Conditions of the Russian Refugees"—a body originally organized in New York to combat the activities of the Alliance. The merger, however, failed to produce any startling results, and in a short time both organizations were forgotten.

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One of the greatest aids to the immigrant was the fund created by Baron Maurice de Hirsch, the great Jewish philanthropist, who, upon his death in Hungary in 1896, left a sum of \$2,400,000 in trust, to be used in ameliorating the condition of certain Jewish immigrants to the United States.²⁷ The Baron de Hirsch fund had an annual income of \$125,000 which was used at first to relieve the immediate needs of the immigrants, to furnish instruction in the various trades and handicrafts, and to aid in colonization work. Agricultural schools were established under the fund at Woodbine, New

²⁷ The Baron de Hirsch fund was incorporated under the laws of New York state on February 12, 1891. The trustees were: M. S. Isaacs, president; Jacob H. Schiff, vice-president; Jesse Seligman, treasurer; Dr. Julius Goldman, honorary secretary; Henry Rice, James H. Hoffman, Oscar Straus, Mayer Sulzberger, and William H. Hackenburg.

Jersey, and Doylestown, Pennsylvania, by Dr. Joseph Krauskopf. Part of the money went towards paying the transatlantic fares of impoverished Russian refugees, and part went towards encouraging a wider geographical distribution of the immigrants in America. The New York ghetto, and in fact the whole Atlantic seaboard, lay panting under the tremendous onrush of an immigrant army, while to the west lay vast lands undefiled and hungry for the plow.

In South America, in the province of Buenos Aires, Argentina, nearly 120,000 acres of land were purchased by the Jewish Colonization Association, under the Hirsch fund, and about 25,000 Jews came to settle on the land. The Jewish Colonization Society had been established by Baron de Hirsch immediately after Russia had refused his offer of a large grant to aid her Jewish subjects. He placed \$10,000,000 at the disposal of the Association, and left \$45,000,000 more at the time of his death. The income of this fund is used largely in colonization projects, and in aiding Jewish farmers to purchase lands and settle in less-crowded parts of the country.²⁸

But the quick, nervous nature of the Jew could not be tied to the soil. Less than five per cent of the immigrants applied to the fund for aid. They settled, instead, in the large cities, they swelled the ghettos, they felt safe and secure here. They worked hard, saved their money, sent for their families, and helped the new masses of Russian Jewish immigrants clamoring at the doors of the New World.

RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

The German Jews would have little to do with their Russian-Polish brethren. They regarded the latter with condescension and contempt, and held themselves socially aloof. It was an

²⁸ Baron de Hirsch gave 12,000,000 francs towards the improvement of the conditions of the Jews in Galicia, and 1,000,000 francs to the Alliance Israelite Universelle for the establishment of Jewish schools in the Orient. His benefactions totaled \$100,000,000.

old story. Forty years earlier the Germans had met with the same reception at the hands of the Sephardim. Ex-slaves make the harshest taskmasters.

The Russian Jews kept to themselves. The German Jews with their fine American ways and religious liberalism were little better than *goyim* in their eyes. They formed their own congregations, built their own synagogues, organized their own charitable organizations, lodges, and social clubs.

The Russian Jew was orthodox to the core. Reform Judaism left him cold, disturbed, alien. He could not understand the diluted practices of the German Jew. To the Russian Jew, fed and nurtured at the breast of traditionalism, it was little short of heresy.

~~Orthodoxy in America owes its preservation~~ to the Russian Jew. He brought Hebrew and Talmudic learning to the United States. One may speculate even whether without him Judaism would have survived the influences of assimilation and Reform.²⁹

There had been bad blood between the camps of the Reform and Orthodoxy for a long time now; but the final break came in 1883, when, at a banquet given for the first graduating class of the Hebrew Union Theological Seminary in Cincinnati food, forbidden by the dietary laws, was served. This was the last straw. Steps were at once taken under the leadership of Sabato Morais to establish a seminary for the training of orthodox rabbis; and in 1886 the Jewish Theological Seminary opened its doors in the city of New York, with Dr. Morais as president, and Alexander Kohut, professor of the Talmud.

In 1888 a Federation of Congregations, comprising about fifteen of the more important synagogues in New York City, was formed, and Rabbi Jacob Joseph, preached at Vilna, and

²⁹ When in 1846 Dr. Isaac M. Wise landed in New York and came to the English Polish synagogue on Elm Street and asked the Shamos for a volume of the Mishna (part of the Talmud) "that individual laughed so mockingly that I readily perceived what a sign of greenness it was on my part to ask for an ancient Hebrew book in the New World, and that, too, in an orthodox synagogue."

one of the greatest rabbinical authorities in Russia, was invited to come as chief rabbi of the Federation. He was received with great honor by the orthodox masses, who recognized him as the greatest orthodox rabbi who had ever come to this country. The Federation, however, soon fell to pieces, and the plan formulated by the elders of the Federation giving the chief rabbi complete supervision over religious matters, and the Federation complete control over the Kosher meat supply in New York, failed. Too many grumbled at the meat tax levied for the support of the Federation and the rabbi; while a number of the independent orthodox rabbis balked at the authority of Rabbi Joseph.

Several other attempts were made to unite the orthodox congregations under a chief rabbi, but they all failed. In Chicago, Rabbi Jacob David Wilkowski, chief rabbi of a union of orthodox congregations, met such stiff opposition in the person and following of Rabbi Zebi Simon Album, that he resigned his post ten months after he had accepted it. The last to assume the title of chief rabbi in America was Rabbi Gabriel Margolis, who held that position in Boston until his removal to New York in 1911.

The Russian Jew brought with him a strong, virgin faith. He built hundreds of synagogues, established Talmud Torahs. From the Pale, too, came a group of religious mystics called the Chassidim. Half-dreamers, their lives consumed by the fierce fires of religious zeal, they transplanted the Chassidic cult to American soil. Chassidic rabbis came, synagogues grew up, and the cult flourished.

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES

The educational and institutional work begun in the years of German-Jewish settlement in America was continued energetically during the feverish decades of Eastern European immigration. The Jewish Publication Society, organized in Philadelphia

in 1888, under the leadership of Judge Mayer Sulzberger and Morris Newburger, its first president, has published more than a hundred books on various Jewish subjects, notably Graetz' *History of the Jews*, an English translation; a new translation of the Bible; Schechter's *Studies in Judaism*; and some of Israel Zangwill's works of fiction. The society—still in existence—was actually the third of its kind in America, the first having been organized by Rabbi Leeser in 1845, and the second by Leopold Bamberger, Benjamin I. Hart, Myer Stern, Edward Morrison, William B. Hackenburg, and Simon Wolf, in 1873. Leeser's society—the more successful of the two—published fourteen books between 1845 and 1851; while the second gave up the ghost in the second year of its existence.

The Jewish Chautauqua Society was founded in 1893 by Rabbi Henry Berkowitz, of the Rodeph Shalom Congregation of Philadelphia, and had as part of its ambitious program "the dissemination of knowledge of the Jewish religion by fostering the study of its history and literature, establishing reading circles, holding general assemblies . . ." etc.

Another of the important learned bodies formed during this period was the American Jewish Historical Society, organized in June of 1892, with Oscar Straus president, and Dr. Cyrus Adler secretary. The society had for its main object the collection and preservation of material bearing on the history of the Jews in America, and has contributed the chief work done in this field by American Jewish scholars.

THE MELTING POT BOILS OVER

It was just about this period that American statesmen began to gaze uneasily at the endless stream of immigration flooding the land. There had up to this time been scarcely what could be called an "immigration problem." True, between 1835 and 1860, the "Native American" and "Know Nothing" parties—spiritual forerunners of the Ku Klux Klan—had evidenced an

hostility towards foreigners, especially Catholics. But the government was on the whole complacent about the matter and did nothing to curb immigration. In fact, in 1864, Congress, on the recommendation of President Lincoln, passed a law enabling American employers to contract and bring over European laborers who would later pay for their transportation out of their wages. The law, while it easily stimulated immigration, gave rise to various abuses, and was abolished in 1868.

The first step towards immigration legislation was taken in 1882 when a law was passed providing for a head tax of fifty cents on all aliens entering the United States. Three years later a second law was passed forbidding the importing of contract laborers.

It soon began to be rumored about, however, that immigration laws were being evaded. In 1888 a congressional committee was appointed to investigate the charges. In due time the committee completed its investigations, and sustained the charges—praising on one hand the immigrants of the past, and condemning vigorously the incoming hordes. The report created considerable excitement in certain circles, and in 1890 several parties in twenty-three states demanded further and more stringent regulation of immigration. In 1892 a congressional committee recommended an educational test for immigrants. Nothing was done about it then, but in 1897 both houses of Congress adopted an immigration bill which provided for an educational test barring persons sixteen years of age or over—excepting parents, grandparents, wives, and minor children—who could not read or write some language. President Grover Cleveland rapped the educational clause severely and vetoed the bill. The house passed the bill over the president's head but no action was taken in the senate. Subsequent immigration bills excluded defectives and undesirables, raised the head tax to two dollars, and later to four.

JEWS IN THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

The Russian immigrant was not long in the land of freedom before he had a taste of war. But here was a war for Jews to fight! for was not Spain an ancient enemy of Israel?

Four thousand Jews fought in the Spanish-American War. Among them were four majors, six captains, and twelve lieutenants. Half a dozen Jews served in the Rough Riders under Theodore Roosevelt and were praised for their bravery. In the navy were twenty Jewish officers, chief of whom was Rear Admiral Adolph Marix. In 1895 Rear Admiral Marix became first commander of the ill-fated battleship Maine, but was transferred from it several weeks before the catastrophe in Havana Harbor that precipitated the war. He was secretary of the court of inquiry which investigated the mysterious and violent destruction of the Maine, and prepared the report that hastened the first flourishes of war.

CONCLUSION

The Eastern European Jew is, in temperament, more akin to the Spanish than to the German Jew. He is emotional, passionate, intellectual. He is a dreamer. His love for learning and freedom is profound and fiery. He has a great reverence for the professions. He works himself to the bone to send his son to college so he may become a doctor, a lawyer, or a dentist.

It was the Russian Jew, the Eastern European Jew, who made America the center of Judaism. He brought with him the Talmud and Hebrew learning. He gave Orthodoxy its greatest fighters. He was responsible for the rise of the Yiddish press and Yiddish literature. He launched Zionism in America, and originated the Jewish labor unions.

By the year 1900 the earlier Russian and Austro-Hungarian immigrants had found their bearings. They were nearly on

equal terms with the Germans, and began in some instances to supersede them, just as the latter had superseded the Sephardim. They transformed the needle trades, entered the building and real estate business, gained control of the tobacco industry. They made a big business out of old rags, waste paper, and scrap metals.

With the Eastern European Jew assimilation and Americanization came slower than with the German or the Spanish Jew. Americanism, as a way of living or thinking or playing, as a mode of behavior or thought, was hard for the Russian to grasp or make his own. His sense of humor was different; his outlook on life was different; his spiritual makeup was different. The Pale and the Talmud had shaped his mind a certain way—and this way not the way of America. He had a lot to relearn, a lot to change. Education, schools, a freer environment, newspapers, movies, the radio—all these have helped to hasten the assimilative process. The old Russian Jew has shaved off his ear locks, has put on American clothes, has picked up a smattering of English. Orthodoxy has lost a little of its severity. With the second generation, and the third, Americanization and assimilation are practically complete.

The Russian Jew has been a great force in American life. Culturally, he has done more for America than any other immigrant people. He has given her great artists, writers, musicians, pedagogues, scientists, thinkers. He has given her new forms of art and new patterns of thought. On the American concert stage are Russian Jews. They own Hollywood, and control the American theater. They write some of America's best books, compose much of her best music, produce almost all of her best plays. They build her greatest buildings, teach in her greatest universities, participate in her greatest industries. Not as malleable as his German brother, run through by a thin, dim strain of orientalism, the Russian Jew has been a great creative force in American life, a great mental and spiritual stimulant.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

JEWS IN THE LABOR MOVEMENT *

THE RISE OF THE SWEATSHOP

JEWISH immigration from Eastern Europe, as we have seen, brought into the United States, for the first time, a Jewish proletariat. The Sephardic and German Jews had practically all been traders or merchants, peddlers or independent artisans. They launched ships, bartered, opened stores, carried a pack, dug for gold. Very few went into the shops or factories.

With the early sixties some German and Austro-Hungarian Jews, who in their home lands had been either second-hand clothes dealers or tailors, began to trickle into the needle trades. It was about this time, too, that the ready-made clothing industry was emerging from its swaddling clothes to begin its spectacular rise. So successful were these early entrepreneurs that by the middle of the 80's these erstwhile German second-hand clothes dealers and merchants controlled the largest clothing manufacturing establishments in America, and were the bosses of the new hosts of Russian, Hungarian, and Rumanian immigrants inundating in great waves the shores of the New World.

The Eastern European Jews flocked to the needle trades. The majority of the immigrants, vocationally equipped, were either tailors, dressmakers, hat and cap makers, or furriers.¹ In the thickly settled centers of Eastern Europe the main industry of the Jews had been the manufacture of clothing. In

* This chapter is based chiefly on the "Epic of the Needle Trades," a series of articles by S. Kopald and B. M. Selekman, which appeared in the "Menorah Journal," October to December, 1928, and April, 1930.

¹ Of the 394,000 Jewish immigrants with trades who arrived between 1899 and 1910, 145,272 were tailors, 39,452 were dressmakers and seamstresses, 4,070 were hat and cap makers, 3,144 were furriers and fur workers, and 2,291 were milliners.

Russia, the production of wearing apparel supported one-seventh of the Jewish population; while in Rumania, one-third of the garment workers were Jews.

The Jewish immigrants knew little or nothing about modern industrialism. In their home lands, hardly touched yet by the Industrial Revolution, artisans carried on their work in small shops with the help of apprentices and journeymen. The vast majority of the immigrants had never seen the inside of a factory. They did not know the terrible beauty of machines row on row, of gears, and wheels, and belts—sleek, intricate, clamorous. Soon they would see it all, and dance to the music.

Arrived in the New World, the immigrants sought out at once their co-religionists. They swarmed to the ghettos of the large cities. They could hear their mother tongue spoken here, meet old cronies, talk over old times, discuss the Talmud, keep the Sabbath and the holydays.

Work was not hard to find. The clothing trade, growing by leaps and bounds, needed skilled hands. In Baltimore and Philadelphia the owners of the cloak and dress shops, or their agents, would meet the incoming boats and hire the immigrant tailors as they stepped on shore. In New York and Chicago many of the immigrants were placed by the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society or the various charity societies. In the main, the immigrants sought work within the confines of the ghetto. To venture beyond this, to seek work where English was spoken, where "American girls" were employed, where a greenhorn was mimicked and the Sabbath desecrated, was not easy. It was better to stay in the ghetto and work for some one who could speak the mother tongue, and who could initiate the green hand into the mysteries of the trade. In New York, in the district around Essex and Hester Streets, there grew up a sort of labor exchange, which came to be known as the "pig market." Here many of the newly-arrived immigrants would gather, exchange gossip of the Old World, and wait for contractors in need of hands to come around to offer them jobs. In a measure, this

practice encouraged the growth of the contract shop, which all too often became the sweatshop.

There were two distinct kinds of shops in the needle trades: the "inside" shop, and the "contract" shop. The "inside" shops were owned by the magnates of the industry. In these large manufacturing plants the garments were cut, made up, bushelled, and examined—the whole process being completed under one roof. The "contract" shops were run by petty sub-contractors who hired men of their own and manufactured garments for the "inside" shops at so much per garment. The profits of these manufacturing middlemen depended upon shrewd business manipulations, which in effect meant paying as little as possible to the workers, and getting as much as possible from the large manufacturers.

The contracting system got its real impetus in the 80's and 90's with the arrival of the huge, disorganized, immigrant army from Eastern Europe, bringing thousands of men and women skilled with the needle, and eager to work at any pay. Whoever could get together a number of immigrant workers and obtain bundles from a wholesale merchant or manufacturer, became a contractor. Fifty dollars was enough to open a shop.

Low wages, a large and skilled labor supply, and a rapidly growing industry combined to foster the contracting system. A little nerve, a little money, and a shrewd head were the only essentials needed. Sewing machines were cheap, and could be bought on the installment plan or rented. Overhead was low. A single room in a tenement house could serve as a shop. The machines were operated by footpower, which was generated by the workers themselves. The processes of production were comparatively simple, and workers could be trained in a short time.

The large manufacturers and jobbers looked with encouraging favor upon the mushroom growth of the contract shops. If the cost of the garments was a little higher, the difference was more than made up by a greatly increased production, without a proportionate increase in overhead. Besides, labor problems

—always a bugbear—were minimized, for the burden of finding, training, and organizing men was shifted bodily to the contractors. The latter, in turn, shifted as much of the industrial responsibility upon the immigrant worker as possible. The workers often had to buy or rent their own machines, supply their own thread and needles, and pay for the privilege of getting into the shops.

The contracting system grew most rapidly in the last two decades of the 19th century. Some of the larger manufacturers² had as many as twenty or thirty contract shops producing for them. In turn, many of the larger contract shops gave out work to sub-contractors who usually performed one operation upon the garment, such as pressing.

The business formula of the garment contract reduced itself, through pressure of competition, to a simple but eminently sound economic equation; namely, the greatest possible production at the lowest possible cost. The first depended upon long hours and rapid, continuous work; the second upon low wages and low rents. Faced by such an economic necessity, the contract shops easily and naturally degenerated into the sweatshops.

The essential features of the sweatshop were unsanitary conditions, excessively long hours of work, and extremely low wages. The shops were generally located in tenement houses. Work was usually carried on in one of the rooms of the flat in which the contractor lived. As business improved other rooms would be added to the workshop, until the whole flat, kitchen and bedroom included, would be filled with the dirt and clamor of work and machines going. Further expansion necessitated even the utilization of halls and corridors, and when weather permitted, roofs, balconies, and fire-escapes.

The working hours in the clothing trades were long. In the

² The leading clothing manufacturers during the 80's were Meyer Jonasson and Oppenheim Company; Collins and Company; Friedman Brothers; Blumenthal Brothers; Strawbridge and Clothier and Ulman and Company.

contract shops employees worked usually eighty-four hours a week; in the inside shops, sixty. Besides these regular hours of labor, there was overtime, while many of the workers took material home and worked until two and three o'clock in the morning. It was quite common to work fifteen or sixteen hours a day—from five in the morning until nine at night—and in the busy seasons, all night. Too tired to go home, many of the workers would sleep on the bundles in the shop between working hours.

Wages in New York in the 80's averaged about seven dollars a week. Women made from three to six dollars a week, and often whole families working fifteen hours a day could earn no more than twelve or fifteen dollars a week. Many men made only four dollars a week, while the best workers were getting ten. Towards the end of the decade wages rose to about twelve dollars a week.

Overcrowding, lack of air and sunlight, unsanitary conditions, long hours and hard work, constant worry and undernourishment, gave disease and illness a free hand. These two, with death behind, walked rampant through the sweatshops. Many workers developed chest and lung troubles; many were sent prematurely to the grave.

STRIFE, STRIKES AND UNIONISM

Under the press of these conditions, labor became, inevitably, self-conscious. Suffering so intense, so real, could not go unchallenged. Radical theories gained new meaning and new adherents. Many of the workers became socialists and anarchists. Stimulated by the intellectuals and social reformers, they associated themselves with the movements of Darwinism, Spencerianism, Comtism, Marxism, Bakunism, and various other isms. The radicals became the leaders of the masses and the connecting link between the political and social organizations and the workers in the shops.

Forces were clearly in operation now, and conditions favorable, for the development of unionism. A number of unions, as a matter of fact, were organized during the busy seasons of the 80's, although they failed to survive the slack periods. Outbreaks occurred now and then between the workers and the manufacturers or contractors, which resulted in slightly increased wages during the busy seasons. As soon as the slack seasons set in, however, wages were cut again. These rather futile skirmishes culminated on August 15, 1885, in a general strike of the entire cloak trade of New York, which lasted two weeks. The *New York World* wrote that it was "not a strike but a revolt for bread and butter." More than 1,500 men joined this strike which ended finally in favor of the insurgents. The workers gained some concessions including a higher piece work rate which enabled good workers to earn from twelve to fifteen dollars a week.

This form of economic guerilla warfare became one of the distinguishing features of the clothing industry. Strikes were strictly seasonal affairs, sponsored by seasonal unions, with neither the strikes nor the unions succeeding in establishing any fundamental principles or gains.

Realizing that the unions which came and went with the seasons could not hope to accomplish anything permanent, the socialists and anarchists, in the fall of 1888, renewed their efforts to organize the trades in which Jewish immigrants were chiefly employed. A Cloak Makers Society was organized in New York City under the influence of the Socialist United Hebrew Trades. A Workers Educational Society was formed in Chicago in 1888 for the purpose of inviting socialist and anarchist speakers to address the workers in the cloak and suit trades. In Philadelphia, in 1889, the anarchists organized a Jewish Federation of Labor.

The nerve ends of the clothing trades received unmistakable warnings of unrest in the winter of 1889. This year had been a prosperous one; the manufacturers were making money hand over fist; the workers were in the same hole, fighting sporadi-

cally for temporary gains. This unnatural fever of excitement reached a head in the first weeks of 1890. Signs of a brisk season in the cloak and suit shops were detected, and a series of strikes broke out. The strikers flocked to the newly formed unions. The movement began in New York City, where conditions were aggravated. In addition to low wages and long hours many obnoxious shop rules were in force. Workers were fined heavily for the slightest infractions of rules. In some shops workers were forbidden to bring cooked meals. Discharges were made for coming in five minutes late or quitting work five minutes too soon.

The first strike began in January, 1890. Before the middle of February the strike involved more than 3,000 workers. The strikers called on the United Hebrew Trades to conduct the strike for them. A committee composed of Joseph Barondess, M. Shach, and B. Weinstein united the workers of the various shops into one union, which demanded of the contractors recognition and approval of the union. The contractors, seeing how the land lay, gave in to the demands. The union at this time had a membership of about 2,800. Outside of New York unionism followed the same lines. The Chicago Cloak Makers Union was incorporated on March 1, 1890. Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Boston followed suit. From May to August, 1890, the clothing trades in these cities and New York were in a turmoil. What the unions wanted most was recognition. They realized that without recognition their victories were ephemeral. The strikes were chiefly, then, strikes for unionism. The manufacturers were wary. They had their interests to protect, and gave in only when they had to. In Chicago a strike lasting two months and involving 1,300 workers ended in failure. In Philadelphia 800 workers, mostly anarchists, struck against employment of non-union men. Strikes broke out in other cities. But for the most part they were ineffectual, and mere ripples on the surface compared to the situation in New York.

For nine weeks the cloak trade in New York was in a state of intense excitability and agitation. The strike began as a partial

lockout on May 19, 1890, when the Cloak Manufacturers Association was revived. Two thousand workers were locked out. On June 9, the cutters in the employ of the Meyer Jonasson plant joined the strike. This had never happened before. The manufacturers retaliated by locking out their cutters. The contractors were as much affected by these lockouts as the workers; so on June 16 a triple alliance was formed between the cloak makers, the cutters, and the contractors against the manufacturers. The cutters next appealed to the courts. They laid a complaint before the June and July grand juries charging that the manufacturers had threatened and intimidated their employees in an effort to break the union and the strikes. The grand juries dismissed the complaint. By this time the manufacturers' blood was up, and they acted at once to make the lockout general. The unions staged a counter-attack declaring strikes in one shop after another. The public was in sympathy with the strikers and funds were raised for their help. More than 4,000 workers were on strike, and they suffered terribly. But finally they cracked the resistance of the manufacturers. The strikers won a complete victory. The peace agreement provided for the unqualified recognition of the union, and a raise in the piece work rate, enabling the workers to earn from twenty-five to thirty dollars a week during the busy season. According to the agreement reached only union cloak makers could be employed in the shops, all union men on strike were to be reinstated, all differences were to be referred to boards representing the Manufacturers Association and the unions, all-week tailors were to receive not less than fifteen dollars and pressers not less than fourteen dollars a week. The man behind the strike was Joseph Barondess, and to him belongs much of the credit for its success. The union grew rapidly in the months that followed the great victory scored by the workers. Wages in the clothing trades were higher than they had ever been before. Workers in the contract shops were freed from many of their onerous duties, such as making fire in the stoves, sweeping the floors, and carrying bundles to and from the ware-

house for which they received no pay. The cloak makers union rose to a membership of seven thousand.

STRUGGLES WITHIN

With early successes came dissension. The unions lost much of their gains. Faction fought faction. Barondess and the anarchist group came to grips with Abe Cahan and the socialist group. In the 90's the American Federation of Labor began to grow stronger, and the radicals fought to keep the unions out of its hands and conservative influence. The socialists waged a campaign to affiliate the unions with the Knights of Labor. The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was formed. Successive strikes exhausted the unions. In 1890 thirty-three organizations were affiliated with the Jewish Labor movement, but the number dropped to much lower later. Hope gave way to discouragement and discouragement to hope. Patiently the Yiddish press and the socialist intellectuals strove to pound sense into the heads of the masses.

Friction developed early between Jewish workmen and Jewish charity organizations. Often the latter blundered in their attempts to help the condition of the workers. Frequently they would unwittingly supply scab labor to shops on strike. Naturally, the unions lost patience with the charity organizations and accused them of deliberate strike breaking, although this was probably never the case.

Civil struggle continued in the needle trades until well after the turn of the century. The struggle, however, never assumed the often murderous aspects of labor-capital warfare in other American industries. In the latter, employer and employee were separated by a wide gulf of economic and social inequality. The "big boss" and worker belonged to entirely different spheres; they had nothing in common. In the clothing trades this was not so. Jew hired Jew. Jew was master and Jew was worker. It was not long ago that the master labored at the

machine. It would not be long before the worker would be master. Master and worker were tied together by race and tongue. Each passed through the same fires—only one, perhaps, a little sooner than the other. If the workers suffered, the contractors suffered too. If the worker slaved, the boss slaved too. There was greater cooperation between employer and employee in the needle trades than in any other industry in America.

In 1893 came the great panic to wipe away whatever gains the garment workers had made in their first great strikes. Times were bad; men were out of work; industry was crippled; workers suffered. Hopes broke. Only the intellectual leaders stuck to their posts, and by their stubbornness were soon to see their ideals take root.

The unions so far had been local, and, for the most part, ephemeral. The first real step towards the establishment of a permanent national union was taken by the workers on men's clothing, with the organization of the United Garment Workers, in New York, on the 18th of April, 1891. But the workers seem to have bit off a larger piece than they could chew. The tailor delegates lacked confidence in their abilities to assume leadership of the union. They justified their lack of confidence by insisting that their ignorance of English would weaken the new organization. With a striking lack of foresight they elected American born and non-socialist leaders to head the union, although they attempted to safeguard their interests by adopting a set of socialistic resolutions by which the leaders should be guided. The newly-elected officers acquiesced to the resolutions readily enough, solely in order to gain the support of the radical tailor delegates. The new organization was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The workers soon realized what a blunder they had made. Once in power, the leaders demonstrated decided conservative views, and with the support of the conservative skilled workers edged slowly away from socialistic policies. From the

beginning the union took under its wing the interests of the skilled cutters, and laid down a platform, the main tenets of which were a restricted labor supply, trade cooperation with employers, emphasis upon the needs of the skilled crafts, and the union label. This last has been its greatest weapon.

But what had all this to do with the slums and the sweatshop, long hours and low wages, unsanitary conditions and disease? Nothing. After all the smoke was cleared away, the worker was just where he had been before. The unions talked principles, but the worker was still overworked and undernourished. The workers grumbled. They fell away from the unions. In 1913 the United Garment Workers had less than 4,000 members in New York.

Hat and cap makers were the next to organize after the garment workers. Overtures had been made as early as 1890, with the establishment of local unions. Six years later representatives of local unions in New York and Boston organized the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers. Five more years went by before a national organization was established. This was in 1901, when nine locals—three in New York, and one each in Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and San Francisco—combined, and profiting from the experiences of the United Garment Workers, elected radical Jewish leaders. In 1902 the union obtained a charter from the American Federation of Labor.

The new organization had troubles on its hands from the start. Ideas clashed, factions squabbled, locals bit and clawed. But the union was too well founded upon the real needs of the workers to be disrupted by petty quarrels. It fought the slum and the sweatshop. It had the interests of the unskilled worker at heart. The employers organized themselves in self-defense and declared lockouts wherever the union had locals. A great battle was staged in 1904-1905 between the union and the organized employers, which ended in a victory for the former. The constant fighting toughened, rather than weakened, the

union; and it emerged from the victory stronger than before.

Centralized, permanent unionism took several decades in coming to the women's garment industry. Local unions sprang up to meet an emergency of rush seasons, only to die out when the flurry spent itself. The lockout of 1890 swelled the ranks of the unions; but the gains were dissipated by the business depression and labor losses of 1894-1895. Factional dispute characterized the early efforts of the union leaders and their followers, and hindered a speedy consolidation. Finally, on June 3, 1900, delegates from New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Newark, Brownsville, Chicago, and San Francisco met at New York City and established the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

In 1882, 1883, and again in 1902, the fur workers made futile efforts to establish an international union. An organization of a sort dragged on from 1904 to 1910. A union was formed in New York in 1907 which was soon after destroyed by a lockout. In 1910 it came to life again, and by June, 1912, after two years of active propaganda, it had a membership of some six hundred. A general strike declared by the union in the same month of that year ended in a complete victory for the workers. Membership increased rapidly from then on, and the union—now known as the International Fur Workers' Union—includes at present about four-fifths of the workers in the industry. Both the International Fur Workers' Union and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union became affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

The Jewish masses in the needle trades were organizing. The intellectual and radical leaders had taught the workers the meaning of group solidarity. If the unions failed to improve the living conditions of the workers, if they failed to clean up the slums and bring sunlight into the sweatshops, they succeeded at least in making the masses self-conscious, and dissatisfied with their lot. It gave them, moreover, a unity, without which no fight can be won.

FURTHER ACTIVITIES

The Russian Revolution of 1905 brought a large band of Jewish intellectual radicals to the United States. They flocked at once to the needle trades, worked side by side with the masses, and urged revolt. They were fiery, earnest, and fanned into flames the discontent of the workers. Things began to happen soon after. In 1907 the reefer makers struck in mass, stayed out for nine weeks, and won a complete victory. Two years later occurred the famous "uprising of 20,000" workers—mostly all young girls and women—when the small local union of waist and dressmakers in New York issued a strike call. On November 22, two thousand representatives met in Cooper Union, and listened for hours to long discussions. Suddenly a young Jewish girl arose, a girl still in her teens, and making her way to the platform she delivered a philippic in Yiddish: "I am a working girl, one of those who strike against intolerable conditions. I am tired of listening to speakers who talk in general terms. What we are here for is to decide whether we shall or shall not strike. I offer a resolution that a general strike be called—now." The answer came in deafening applause. "Do you mean faith? Will you take the old Jewish oath?" cried the leader. Then out of two thousand throats came the chant: "If I turn traitor to the cause I now pledge, may the hand wither from the arm I now raise."

Enthusiasm ran rife. The entire community joined in the fight against the sweat shop. There was no stopping the insurrection, and the strikers emerged victorious. Five months later the cloakmakers rose up in the "Great Revolt"—one of the grimmest battles the women's industry has known.

The "Great Revolt" was brought about by a series of abuses having its origin in the growing number of small clothing manufacturing shops, which were slowly edging out the contracting establishments, and pushing the large manufacturing plants to the wall. These small manufacturing shops were owned

mostly by Russian and Polish Jews, whose destructive weapons of competition were low rent and cheap labor. Unlike the large manufacturers who kept up large showrooms on Broadway and imported samples and designs from Paris, the small east side manufacturers kept overhead at a bare minimum. They made up their own samples and designs and employed no models. They developed a highly efficient division of labor, each head worker or group of workers being responsible for one process of manufacture. These workers, known as head pressers, head basters, head operators, and so on, worked at a stipulated piece rate, and in turn hired helpers, and they, in turn sub-helpers, each layer sponging upon the layer below, and making its profit by paying out a little less than it got in. The worker, as a result, was forced to support on his back a whole hierarchy of petty middlemen. His sufferings, bad at best, became now unbearable.

To make matters even worse, new and more expensive machinery was taking the place of the older and cheaper equipment, making it a severe hardship for the workers to purchase their own machines.³ As abuses multiplied radical leaders began a serious and organized agitation for a general strike. A systematic propaganda, aided by the Yiddish press, the United Hebrew Trades, and the Arbeiter Verein, got under way. Plans were carefully laid for a strike which was to involve 60,000 workers in the cloak and suit trade. The Joint Board of the Cloak and Skirt Makers' Union, acting as the general staff, sent out feelers, delegated agitation committees to the factories, stirred up the tailors, and prepared a publication called *The New Post*, which served as the official organ of the strikers. For weeks conversation on the east side of New York centered on the coming event. On June 28, 1910, a general mass meeting was held at Madison Square Garden. The hall was packed to overflowing. If the fighting pitch could be sustained until the day of the strike it would be the greatest

³ At the time of the "Great Revolt" nearly 50% of the workers owned their own machines.

labor battle of the times. Plans for the strike were discussed in utter secrecy. On July 7, a special edition of *The New Post* declared the strike was on. Workers were ordered to leave the shops at 2 P.M. Shortly after two o'clock the workers began pouring out of the shops. Traffic was held up, while the thousands of workers, carrying their tools, marched to the rallying places where they had been instructed to meet. It was nothing short of a great uprising.

Business tottered under the blow. Attempts at reconciliation were made soon after the strike was declared. Settlements were made in many shops during the first three weeks of the strike. Real settlement, however, had to come between the union and the Protective Association. The fundamental issues involved were a closed shop and the employment of only union labor.

It was evident from the start that the Protective Association would not give in to these far reaching demands without a fight. For two weeks the union and the Protective agency battled tooth and nail, neither side giving quarter on either of the two issues. At this point, when an impasse seemed inevitable without outside intervention, there stepped into the picture two prominent Jewish business men—one, a Mr. A. Lincoln Filene, part owner of a large Boston department store, and the other, a Mr. Meyer Bloomfield—to try their hand at mediation. This was the cue for others to enter as arbiters—Louis D. Brandeis, Benjamin Schlesinger, Meyer London, Louis Marshall, and Jacob H. Schiff—but their attempts at compromise resulted only in fanning the fury of the workers, and creating almost a breach in the union ranks.

As the strike continued, both sides perceptibly weakened. Faced with the prospect of a long, lean winter, the workers were ready to make certain concessions. The strike came to an end on September 1 with the Protocol of Peace, which brought many substantial gains to the workers and the union. The Protocol abolished the vicious system of inside subcontracting, charges for machine power, and time contracts

with individual employees. It established ten legal holidays with full pay for week-workers, a regular weekly pay-day, a joint board of sanitary control, a board of arbitration to settle disputes, and the preferential shop—a shop in which union men were given preference over non-union men.⁴ The workers obtained a fifty-hour working week, double pay for overtime, and a higher minimum wage rate.

With the signing of the famous Protocol of Peace the period of seasonal strikes and seasonal unionism in the women's garment trades came to an end.

WAR IN THE MEN'S CLOTHING TRADES

The workers on men's clothing were the next to assert themselves. The first real outbreak in the industry took place in Chicago in October of 1910. Unlike the "Great Revolt," the Chicago uprising was sudden and unplanned. It was a spontaneous outburst, beginning with an insignificant eruption of twenty workers in one shop, and spreading rapidly until forty thousand were out. Before the middle of October the whole industry was at a standstill.

The conditions which inspired the Chicago revolt were essentially the same as those which characterized the sweatshop régime in New York: long hours, low wages, unbearable working conditions, and unfair exploitation of the workers. The demands of the workers—formulated only after the strike had become general—included the closed shop in the cutting and manufacturing departments; a forty-eight hour week for cutters and trimmers and a fifty-four hour week for tailors, with time and a half for overtime and double time for holidays; and a board of arbitration.

⁴ The preferential shop was first suggested to the strikers by Louis D. Brandeis. They turned down the suggestion at first, but accepted it later when a change was made which allowed the employers only "freedom of selection as between one union man and another." The employers also declared "their belief in the union."

The strike was made bloody by police intervention. Nightsticks were very much in evidence, raids, arrests, and riots were resorted to almost daily by armed guardians of the law, and two workers were shot to death by over-zealous strike breakers. Public sentiment was greatly aroused, excitement ran high, all eyes were centered on the pitched battle.

The strikers got little support from the United Garment Workers Union. The union leaders were decidedly lukewarm in their efforts; and when Thomas Rickert, president of the United, attempted a settlement with Hart Schaffner and Marx—a settlement which would have meant a virtual defeat for the workers—the latter deserted the union leaders and enlisted the aid of John Fitzpatrick, president of the Chicago Federation of Labor.

As the weeks drew on and the suffering of the strikers grew intense, a system of relief was organized which had proved successful in the campaigns of the United Mine Workers and the Building Trade Council. Commissary stores were established where food and other necessities were supplied to the most needy strikers. Special committees were appointed to handle the problem of rent and evictions. Meal tickets were issued to 3,000 strikers entitling them to one meal a day for ten weeks. Churches, clubs, newspapers, and merchants all volunteered their aid in the relief work. Even the gas company agreed not to shut off the gas in the homes of strikers whose bills were overdue.

On November 28 the Board of Aldermen roused themselves to action. As a step towards mediation a special committee, appointed by the board and composed of Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, the Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Judge Julian Mack, Jane Addams, and Alice Hamilton, proposed a conference between the workers and employers. Hart Schaffner and Marx—the largest men's clothing manufacturers in the world⁵—was the only firm to accept the proposal. Before a month had passed settlement was in sight. The terms of the agreement provided for

⁵ Prior to the strike Hart Schaffner and Marx employed 6,500 workers.

the establishment of an Arbitration Committee, and the reinstatement of all strikers, except those who had been guilty of violence. For six weeks the employees of the firm held out against the agreement on the ground that it did not include all the strikers; but finally, unable to bear longer the cold and hunger, they gave in.

The employees of Hart Schaffner and Marx won an agreement which today is one of the best in the industry; while the rest had to be satisfied with a subjective victory of increased confidence in their strength and solidarity. In this great fight many new leaders were born, who in the not distant future were to control the destinies of labor in America. Among them were Sidney Hillman, then in the employ of Hart Schaffner and Marx, Frank Rosenblum, Sam Levin, Frank Marimpietri, and others. . . .

From its very beginning, the United Garment Workers had shown conservative tendencies and an exaggerated interest in the skilled labor group. The Chicago strike of 1910 let a flood of light upon the breach between the officers of the union and the unskilled workers. The dissatisfaction of the latter was further stimulated by the substantial gains made by the workers of the International Ladies Union under the Protocol. Dissatisfaction led to agitation, and agitation to a strike referendum, passed and carried in December of 1912 by an overwhelming majority of the 5,000 New York members of the United. The referendum was followed by a strike call, and within a week 50,000 men had left the New York clothing shops. Another great strike was on. But again the United leaders showed where their sympathies lay. Before the workers could gird their loins for battle, the president of the union declared the strike at an end. The workers scored a half-victory. They accused their leaders of betrayal, and prepared to fight them at the next convention. The Yiddish press championed the aroused workers, and took a radical stand in the heated controversy that followed the break in the union. Bit-

ter words flew like shot between the rival camps. The radicals accused the conservatives of double-crossing; the conservatives fired back that the radicals were conniving to gain Jewish control of the industry and to organize a union of their own and for their own purposes.

The actual break came at the convention which met at Nashville, Tennessee on October 12, 1914. The first offensive move of the conservative faction was one that had been anticipated by both sides. The refusal of the union officers to seat the delegates from the large city locals (on the grounds that the latter had breached the constitutional per-capita taxation clause) precipitated the inevitable crash. Overruled by the conservative members, the radicals rose to their feet, and amid great shouting and excitement, left the hall. The seceding delegates—a hundred and ten strong, and representing mainly large city locals—proceeded to a nearby hall, where they organized their own convention. A new union was created—the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America. All the officers, including Sidney Hillman who was made president, were Jews. The American Federation of Labor refused to recognize the new union, and thus the Amalgamated, alone among the clothing trade unions, had remained independent of Federation control.

LATER YEARS AND LATER DEVELOPMENTS

For nearly three decades the needle workers fought steadily, pluckily against the hard, unbearable conditions of an industry growing too rapidly to adjust itself to the demands of its human cogs. The workers had won many significant victories. The spine of the sweat shop had been broken. Jewish leaders had arisen to create powerful unions—The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, The Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, and the International Fur Workers Union.

Despite its jurisdictional row with the United Garment

Workers and the Federation of Labor, the Amalgamated grew by leaps and bounds, attaining a membership of 200,000, and winning the respect and recognition of the large manufacturers associations. A general strike launched by the Amalgamated in 1916, involving nearly 60,000 workers and financed entirely by the locals connected with the strike, gained the forty-eight hour week for the New York members of the union. The activities of the Amalgamated extended beyond New York—the nerve center of the clothing industry. The union waged vigorous and successful battles in Baltimore, Toronto, Chicago, Boston, and other large business centers. When America entered the World War and the sweat shop threatened to return in response to the sudden and tremendous demand for army clothing, the union, with the assistance of the government, succeeded in curbing the threat. Its greatest, and perhaps most remarkable, victory was won in 1919, when it became one of the first unions in the country to gain for its members the forty-four hour week.

In the ladies clothing industry friction and cross-currents disturbed the tenure of progress and peace which the Protocol had promised. Two forces, although savagely opposed to each other, combined to weaken the union: the radical element within the union chafing at the conciliatory measures of the conservative faction; the more pugnacious and independent of the manufacturers revolting against the aggressiveness of the unions. With both sides keyed to a fighting pitch, equilibrium was easily upset. A break came in 1915, on the 20th of May, when the manufacturers abrogated the Protocol on the grounds that the union had failed to live up to its conditions. The war had given a severe blow to the women's trade, and thousands of workers were without jobs. On top of that, eight labor leaders, including Morris Sigman, were indicted on criminal charges, dating back to the strike of 1910, upon the evidence of certain underworld characters. The weeks that followed were tense with excitement. Morris Hillquit defended the eight leaders and won their acquittance. The workers ac-

cused the manufacturers of foul play and were ready to do battle. An outbreak was held temporarily in check by a Council of Conciliation appointed by Mayor Mitchel of New York; but on the 1st of May, 1916, immediately following a lockout declared by the four hundred members of the Employers Association, a general strike was declared, which lasted for fifteen weeks through the entire slack season. It was a bitter, stubborn fight, and the suffering of the workers was intense. But they held on, refusing to give up, and in the end their courage won for them substantial concessions, and for the union a clean victory. The agreement signed at the termination of the strike gained for the workers a reduction in working hours and an increase in wages, and provided for price committees and expert price adjustment, and the registration of contractors' shops. While the question of hiring and firing was left entirely in the hands of the employers, workers were given the right to strike if their grievances could not be peaceably settled. The Protocol, once hailed as "the first large essay in industrial democracy" and the "most thorough-going experiment in industrial arbitration" had outlived its usefulness. Internal weaknesses in the machinery of the Protocol—chiefly its inflexibility under the pressure of changing industrial conditions and its inability to contend with the friction arising inevitably out of the stress and strain of opposing industrial forces—led to its abrogation in Boston and Philadelphia, where it gave way to collective agreements.

The Protocol, while it lasted, was of service to both the workers and employers. It improved working conditions, raised the wage level, and eliminated strikes. It was an important, if not altogether adequate, instrument of emancipation for the workers. It introduced an ethical code into the industry, and helped lay the foundations of unionism and collective bargaining in the chief industrial centers. It brought system and organization into the industry, and made it less haphazard and ungainly. It raised the worker to a new status, and made life more liveable for him. It broke down when

improvements ceased—as they did between 1912 and 1915—and when employers found themselves unable to continue paying the higher wages the Protocol demanded. In the last analysis the Protocol failed “because it imposed upon the industry a demand for progressive improvements which could not be met on the existing basis of doing business and it implied a spirit of democracy and a willingness to accept the dictates of a scientific control which were in conflict with the traditions and ideology of the industry.”

The Protocol was the pioneer in needle trade reform. It cut the channels for future unionism to follow. It was the great formative factor in the history of the needle trades. . . .

The aggressiveness, the courage, and the accomplishments of the needle workers constitute one of the most remarkable phenomena in the history of American industry of the last half-century. Greenhorn Jews from Russia, Poland, and Galicia—forming the great portion of the needle workers—brought to American labor a power which it had never known before. Abolition of the sweatshop, improved working conditions (higher wages and shorter hours), organization of foreign-born workers, organization of women, constitutionalism, employment insurance, educational programs for workers, cooperative housing and labor banking, scientific management research—these have been the unique and monumental contributions of the Eastern European Jew to the workers of America.

Behind this great movement of emancipation—controlling, directing, leading the forces of revolt—were Jews. To Jewish brains and Jewish idealism must go the chief credit for the significant successes of unionism and the labor movement in America. The organization of foreign workers—a job which the United Garment Workers had given up because of the “racial clannishness and radicalism of the Jews and the Italians”—was accomplished under the leadership of Sidney Hillman. Jewish women hold the reins of the Ladies International Garment Workers. Constitutionalism, perhaps the chief con-

tribution of the garment workers to American industry, is a creation of Jewish genius.

Periodic unemployment, the black plague of the needle trades, has been to an extent alleviated by the various systems of unemployment insurance, which guarantee the workers a minimum employment period and pay during periods of involuntary idleness. The first attempt at unemployment insurance in the needle trades was made in April, 1921, by the International Ladies Garment Workers' union and the Manufacturers' Association of Cleveland. Under this so-called "Cleveland plan" workers were guaranteed forty weeks of work each year, and one-half pay for each idle week in excess of twelve. Insurance funds were maintained separately for each factory, and were financed through employer contributions constituting ten percent of the payrolls. In 1920 the Amalgamated approached the employers of Baltimore, Boston, Rochester, and Chicago with plans for unemployment funds. Recently, unemployment insurance has been introduced in New York, Chicago, and Rochester.

Educational, recreational, and health programs for workers came to American industry through the needle trades. Under the leadership of Fanny M. Cohn, the International Ladies Union in 1914 undertook an intensive educational program. Advanced courses in economics, trade unionism, history, social science, and literature were given at the Workers University; while elementary instruction in the same courses was offered at the "Unity Centers." Special courses for shop chairmen and other local leaders were taught in the "extension division"; pamphlets, text-books, and outlines were published by the educational department; lectures were given in Yiddish and English.⁶ The needle trades have actively supported the Brookwood Labor College, and have enriched the social life of the workers.

Cooperative housing, undertaken by the Amalgamated, has

⁶ The capmakers have done similar work through their Headgear Workers Institute.

enabled workers to buy their own homes in model apartments, and has shown the way out of the slum and the ghetto. The first labor bank in New York City was established by the Amalgamated; while the furriers and capmakers of New York, cooperating with the Ladies Garment Workers, established the International Union Bank.

These various educational, vocational, and housing schemes have had for their main objective the physical and mental welfare of the workers. The Joint Board of Sanitary Control has been instrumental in raising the standards of safety in the shops, and in establishing health clinics which give medical and dental aid to the members.

The Amalgamated has played an increasingly important part in the management and growth of the needle trades industry. Although its chief concern has been with the worker, it has not remained ignorant of the legitimate demands of the manufacturer, cooperating with the latter in increasing industrial efficiency, notably through the introduction of piece work, and the establishment of scientific standards of production.

By the end of the World War the needle workers were the most strongly organized of any laboring group in the country. Of the 518,000 workers in the needle trades, in 1918, 305,800, or 60%, were paid-up union members;⁷ while among the entire laboring group in America only 15% of the workers were organized. The Amalgamated, at this time, had a membership of more than 150,000; the United Garment Workers, 46,000; the Ladies Garment Workers, 150,000; the International Fur Workers Union, about 12,000; the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers, 15,000; and the United Neckwear Makers, 3,200.

Needle trade unionism after the war was seriously threatened by a long and bitter struggle between the radical and conservative factions within the unions. Several factors com-

⁷ In some branches of the needle trades the percentage of union membership was higher. In the men's clothing field, for instance, union membership reached nearly 100%, and in the ladies garment field 79%. Among the furriers 80% were union members, and among the hat and capmakers 100%.

bined to precipitate this civil war: on the one hand, the Bolshevist revolution in Russia; and on the other, economic changes within the industry. It was the latter, however, that was chiefly the cause of the post-war distress in the needle trades. Styles, after the war, both in men's and women's clothing, underwent radical changes. The stitched cloth hat for men practically disappeared. The sweeping vogue for bare-headedness threw hundreds of hat and capmakers out of work. Styles turned a complete somersault in women's clothing. The large hat went out and the small felt came in as "puffs" and "rats" gave way to bobbed hair. Ladies' straw hats almost disappeared. The discard of the suit and shirt waist, and the growing popularity of fur over cloth coats, drove 20,000 workers from the cloak and suit trade.

The stability of the clothing trade was seriously threatened by these rapidly changing styles. Merchants who had formerly placed large orders in advance of the season bought now in small quantities and at the last minute. Retailers refused to stock up on any line or item, and preferred to keep their inventory as low as possible.

This unnatural condition in merchandising methods led to the recrudescence of the sweatshop, which in turn led to the jobber-sub-manufacturer system. While primarily a merchandiser, this new jobber is also a manufacturer, although he farms out actual production to small sub-manufacturers. In this way he escapes union jurisdiction—a desire, incidentally, which has encouraged many employers to move their factories into small towns.

Alarmed at the spread of the jobber-sub-manufacturer system, the International Ladies Garment Union and the Amalgamated joined in a determined offensive to curb the new threat. The policies formulated by the union officials were met with sharp criticism by the radical factions, and the communists set themselves to capture control of the needle unions in line with the policy of the Third Internationale.

The time was ripe for Communist intervention. The de-

pression of 1921 had crippled the industry. Thousands of workers were out of jobs and wages had been reduced. The press joined in the fight. The Communists started two papers of their own—*The Daily Worker* in English and the *Freiheit* in Yiddish—to aid them in their propaganda. The Communist *Freiheit* and the Socialist *Vorwaerts* flew at each other, waging a terrific editorial battle.

In the Amalgamated the fight lasted from 1924 to 1926. In the women's trades the conflict was disastrous. Among the fur and garment workers it was a ten year battle, from 1919 to 1929, and is really not yet over. The Communists gained control of the New York Joint Boards but were later ousted after a long, costly, and unsuccessful strike. The International Ladies Garment Workers union and the Furriers were badly shaken up, and are just recovering from their bruising fight. . . .

This, then, is the story of the needle trades. It has been essentially a story of Jewish enterprise, and for that reason was told in such detail. Whether it will continue to be a story of Jews is not so certain. Already there are changes in the complexion of the industry. Restricted immigration has cut off the supply of Jewish raw material. The second and third generation of Jews are not going into the needle trades. Italians, Poles, and Negroes are taking their place. The leaders, however, are still overwhelmingly Jewish.

Among the leaders who have done most in organizing the workers in the needle trades and teaching them the philosophy of socialism are Sidney Hillman, president of the Amalgamated; Morris Sigman and Benjamin Schlesinger, presidents of the International Ladies Garment Workers; Morris Hillquit and Meyer London, socialist leaders; Abe Cahan, editor of the *Vorwaerts*, and idol of the Jewish workman; and Samuel Gompers,⁸ president of the American Federation of Labor until his death in 1925.

⁸ Samuel Gompers was born in England of Jewish parents and came to America as a boy during the Civil War. He got a job in a shoe factory and then drifted into cigarette making. He organized the

THE RADICAL JEW

The Jewish worker did not confine his efforts solely to the needle trades. He invaded the building field in large numbers. Thousands labored as bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, painters, paperhangers, plumbers, electricians, and even as hod carriers. Hosts of these workers developed into contractors and took a prominent part in changing the American sky-line. Jews were active in the manufacture and distribution of food products, their dietary demands having created an entirely new and large industry. They were also found in the so-called service industries, such as laundries and cleaning establishments. They flocked to the tobacco trades and many became cigar and cigarette manufacturers. ~~American Jews, as a whole, avoided the heavier industries, such as steel manufacturing and mining and concentrated in the lighter industries.~~ Thousands of Jews, however, are found in the automobile industry, while overwhelming numbers have flocked to the clerical trades. The second and third generation Jews have practically divorced themselves from manual labor, most of them going in for the professions and white-collar jobs.

The Jews played a leading rôle in the radical labor movements in America. They unionized and organized practically every industry in which they were found in large numbers. They were the brains and the power behind the Socialist movement and were and are among the leading agitators in left wing unionism and American Communism. Victor Berger, first Socialist Congressman in the United States, introduced Eugene V. Debs, late titular leader of the Socialist party in America, to the principles of Marxism. It is noteworthy that the Jewish trade unions and such purely Jewish labor organizations as the United Hebrew Trades, the Workmen's Circle

Cigar Manufacturers Industrial Union, and was one of the organizers of the American Federation of Labor, of which he was president for forty years. He preached the philosophy of craft unionism, and was instrumental in epoch making legislation for the working classes.

(Arbeiter Ring), the Jewish National Workers' Alliance of America and The Independent Workmen's Circle of America, Inc., were political-minded and threw their support mainly to the Socialist party. The majority of votes polled by the Socialist party were cast by Jewish workmen. The leaders were also mainly Jewish, chief of them being Abraham Cahan, who either served as editor, collaborator or contributor to practically all the early Jewish Socialist periodicals and took part in every struggle in which Jewish workers have figured in the last fifty years; Morris Hillquit, author of a standard history of the Socialist party; and Meyer London, who was the only other Socialist congressman in America. Daniel De Leon, a journalist and a Jew from South America, was the founder of the Socialist Labor party in this country. Emma Goldman, one of the most colorful women of this era, with her intimate friend, Alexander Berkman, were leaders of the American Anarchist movement prior to their deportation.

With the decline of the Socialist party during the war period and the consequent rise of the Communist party in America, many of the Jewish labor leaders and workers, most of whom were instrumental in precipitating the breach between the right and left wings of the Socialist party, entered the councils of the Communists. A Yiddish paper, *The Freiheit* was founded to serve the interests of these Jewish Communists. Among the Jewish leaders of the successive Communist groups in this country were Benjamin Gitlow, Jay Lovestone (founder and present leader of the Lovestonites), Israel Amter, Albert Weisbord, Max Bedacht, Michael Gold and M. Olgin, editor of *The Freiheit*.

The Jew was a radical first, because he was an idealist; second, because of the revolutionary heritage which he brought with him from Eastern Europe; and third, because of his own sufferings as an immigrant. The second and third generation Jew does not have the same compulsion to enter into radical activities. In consequence, as the years pass, the Jews will take a lesser and lesser part in active radicalism.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

GROWTH

FROM the beginning of the year 1900 to the outbreak of the World War, in the midsummer of 1914, there arrived in the United States 1,448,226 Jews, or an average of 100,000 a year. It was the period of the greatest Jewish immigration, with Russia and Poland contributing 70% of the immigrants, and Rumania and Austria-Hungary most of the remainder. It was during this period too that Sephardic immigration once more asserted itself, the newer Sephardim coming from Turkey, Asia Minor, Greece, and Syria.

These were years of intellectual growth for American Jewry. The Jewish Encyclopedia—"the capital event in the history of Jewish learning in America"—was published in this decade, and Solomon Schechter rose as leader of traditional Judaism in the United States. The second generation Russian Jews were now arriving on the scene, mingling with and leading the hordes of Russian refugees pouring in from the ghettos of Eastern Europe, and gradually usurping the high places formerly occupied by the German Jews. American Jewish life was becoming definitely Russian Jewish in type.

America now had the largest community of free Jews in the world. American Jewry lost its shyness and its provincialism and became the mouthpiece and the protector of its less fortunate brethren in Russia, Galicia, Rumania, and the Levant. The American Jewish Committee was established to safeguard the rights of Jews at home and abroad; institutions for the care of the older residents and the throngs of new immigrants grew in size and number; the Kehillah was formed in New York City to coordinate the work of the various Jewish

agencies. American Jewry showed how powerful it had become when it succeeded in having the century-old treaty between America and Russia abrogated because of Russian discrimination against American Jews.

In short, this was the most remarkable era in American Jewish history, an era unsurpassed in the history of any other race, an era which saw almost an entire people transported bodily thousands of miles from localities where it had lived for many centuries to a new land where Judaism was an unimportant quantity and the spark of Jewish learning burned but dimly. Out of an old soil deep roots were torn and transplanted in a young new soil. In the transplanting the Jews lost none of their vigor. They managed somehow to adapt themselves quickly to a new environment, to flourish in a strange land, to retain their intellectual powers, their religion, their identity as a race.

It was fortunate for the Jews that these first fourteen years of the twentieth century were years of tremendous growth for American industry and commerce. Industry was voracious. It absorbed into its maw millions of immigrants who built up the land and made this nation the greatest industrial power the world has ever seen. The Jewish immigrant stood shoulder to shoulder with immigrants of other nationalities. He gave the lie to those who said the Jews were not workers. He crowded into the factories, he earned his bread by the sweat of his brow. No work was beneath him. He wielded a pick and shovel. He drove a plow before him. He went down into the mines. He helped load and unload ships. He became prominent in the needle trades and tobacco and cigarette manufacture. He was a peddler of junk. He carried a pack on his shoulder as the earlier German Jews had done, and went into the remote corners of the land to sell his drygoods and notions. Old men with majestic beards and earlocks, who in the old country had been respected for their learning and subtlety in Talmudic law, now tended pushcarts

in the streets of the great cities and haggled with poor housewives.

Jewish bricklayers, carpenters, plasterers, and hod-carriers helped build skyscrapers, factories, and homes. In every occupation, in every walk of life, Jews were to be found, working, sweating, building, fashioning the sinews of America. . . .

THE SCOURGE OF RUMANIA

One of the first problems that confronted the Jews in America and the American government at the beginning of the twentieth century was anti-Semitism in Rumania. The immigration of Rumanian Jews to the United States began as a small stream at the end of the 60's and assumed significant proportions in the 80's. Two important periods of rising immigration are clearly distinguishable. The first period attained its maximum between 1885 and 1889; the second, and indeed the entire movement, between 1900 and 1904.

In the thirty years between 1881 and 1910, 67,057 Jewish immigrants entered the United States from Rumania. In the first decade, from 1881 to 1890, came 6,967 immigrants; in the second decade, from 1891 to 1900, 12,789; and in the third, from 1901 to 1910, the great majority, 47,301. It was not until the first decade of the 20th century, therefore, that Rumanian Jewry began to take a significant part in Jewish immigration.

The American government, as we have seen, had long taken a deep interest in the condition of the Jews of Rumania. As early as 1870 Benjamin Peixotto had been appointed consul general to Rumania, largely at the request of the B'nai Brith, and it was his activity which eventually culminated in the action of the Congress of Berlin, in 1878, when Rumania acquired the status of a sovereign state upon the express condition that the Jews be granted full civil and political rights. In 1879, in a letter to John A. Kasson, the American Minister

to Austria, who at the time was attempting to negotiate a commercial treaty with Rumania, Secretary of State Evarts had written as follows:

"In connection with the subject of Rumanian recognition I inclose for your consideration a copy of a letter under date of the 30th ultima from Mr. Myer S. Isaacs, president of the Board of Delegates on the civil and religious rights of the Hebrews, asking that the government of the United States may exert its influence towards securing for its Hebrew subjects and residents in Rumania the equality of civil and religious rights stipulated in Article XLIV of the treaty of Berlin.

"As you are aware, this government has always felt a deep interest in the welfare of the Hebrew races in foreign countries, and has viewed with abhorrence the wrongs to which they have at various periods been subjected by the followers of other creeds in the East. This department is therefore disposed to give favorable consideration to the appeal made by the representatives of a prominent Hebrew organization in this country in behalf of their brethren in America, and while I should not be warranted in making a compliance with their wishes a *sine qua non* in the establishment of official relations with that country, yet any terms favorable to the interest of this much-injured people which you may be able to secure in the negotiations now pending with the government of Rumania would be agreeable and gratifying to this department."

It was therefore only the continuance of an established policy when the government of the United States began again in 1902 to pay attention to the pitiable conditions of the Jews of Rumania. There existed still no treaty of diplomatic relations between the United States and Rumania, and a new attempt was made by the Department of State to negotiate a naturalization convention and to influence Rumania in the better treatment of her Jews. The Rumanian government,

however, refused to give up her national pastime of Jew-baiting, and declined to consider the draft of the treaty "for the reason that it would complicate the already troublesome Jewish question in that country."

So on August 11, 1902, Secretary of State John Hay penned the famous document known as the Rumanian Note and sent copies of it to France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Russia, and Turkey. This circular note made a profound impression upon the civilized world, and read in part as follows:

"The condition of a large class of the inhabitants of Rumania has for many years been a source of grave concern to the United States. I refer to the Rumanian Jews, numbering some 400,000. Long ago, while the Rumanian principalities labored under oppressive conditions which only war and a general action of the European powers sufficed to end, the persecution of the indigenous Jews under Turkish rule called forth in 1872 the strong remonstrance of the United States. The Treaty of Berlin was hailed as a cure of the wrong, in view of the express conditions of the 44th article, providing that in Rumania the differences of religious creeds and confessions shall not be alleged against any persons as a ground for exclusion or incapacity in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil and political rights, admission to public employments, functions, and honors or the exercise of the various professions and industries in any locality whatsoever, and stipulating freedom in the exercise of all forms of worship to Rumanian dependents and foreigners alike, as well as guaranteeing that all foreigners in Rumania shall be treated without distinction of creed, on a footing of perfect equality.

"With the lapse of time these just prescriptions have been rendered nugatory in great part, as regards the native Jews, by the legislation and municipal regulations of Rumania. . . . The ability of the Jew to earn not

even a scanty means of existence that suffice for a frugal race has been constricted by degrees until every opportunity to win a livelihood is denied; and until the helpless poverty of the Jew has constrained an exodus of such proportion as to cause general concern.

"The political disabilities of the Jews of Rumania, their exclusion from the public service and the learned professions; the limitation of their civil rights and the imposition upon them of exceptional taxes involving as they do wrongs repugnant to the moral sense of the liberal modern peoples are not so directly in point for my present purpose as the public acts which attack the inherent right of man as a breadwinner in the ways of agriculture and trade. The Jews are prohibited from owning land or even from cultivating it as common laborers. They are debarred from residing in the rural districts. Many branches of petty trade and manual production are closed to them in the overcrowded cities in which they are forced to dwell and engage against fearful odds in the desperate struggle for existence. Even as ordinary artisans or hired laborers they may only find employment in the proportion of one unprotected alien to two Rumanians under any one employer. In short in the cumulating effect of successive restrictions the Jews of Rumania have become reduced to a state of wretched misery. Shut out from nearly every avenue of self-support which is open to the poor of other lands, and ground down by poverty as the natural result of their discriminatory treatment they are rendered incapable of lifting themselves from the enforced degradation they endure. Even were the fields of education, of civil employment and of commerce open to them as to "Rumanian citizens," their penury would prevent their rising by individual effort. Human beings so circumstanced have virtually no alternative but submissive suffering or flight to some land less unfavorable to them.

Removal under such conditions is not and can not be the healthy, intelligent emigration of a free and self-relying being. It must be, in the most cases, the mere transplantation of an artificially produced disease growth to a new place.

"Granting that, in better and more healthful surroundings, the morbid condition will eventually change for good, such emigration is necessarily for a time a burden to the community upon which the fugitives may be cast. Self-reliance and the knowledge and ability that evolve the power of self-support must be developed and at the same time, avenues of employment must be opened in quarters where competition is already keen and opportunities scarce. The teachings of history and the experience of our own nation show that the Jews possess in a high degree the mental and moral qualifications of conscientious citizenship. No class of immigrants is more welcome to our shore, when coming equipped in mind and body for entrance upon the struggle for bread and inspired with the high purpose to give the best service of heart and brain to the land they adopt of their own free will. But when they come as outcasts, made doubly paupers by physical and moral oppressions in their native land and thrown upon the long suffering generosity of a more favored community, their immigration lacks the essential conditions which makes alien immigration either acceptable or beneficial. So well is this appreciated on the Continent that even in the countries where anti-Semitism has no foothold it is difficult for these fleeing Jews to obtain any lodgment. America is their only goal. . . .

"Putting together the facts now painfully brought home to this government during the past few years that many of the inhabitants of Rumania are being forced by artificially adverse discriminations to quit their native country; that the hospitable asylum offered by this

country is almost the only refuge open to them; that they come hither unfitted, by the conditions of their exile, to take part in the life of this land under circumstances either profitable to themselves or beneficial to the community and that they are objects of charity from the outset and for a long time—the right of remonstrance against the acts of the Rumanian government is clearly established in favor of this government. Whether consciously and of purpose or not these helpless people, burdened and spurned by their native land, are forced by the sovereign power of Rumania upon the charity of the United States. This government cannot be a tacit party to such an international wrong. It is constrained to protest against the treatment under which the Jews of Rumania are subjected. Not alone because it has unimpeachable right to remonstrate against the resultant injury to itself, but in the name of humanity. The United States may not authoritatively appeal to the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin to which it was not and cannot become a signatory, but it does earnestly appeal to the principles consigned therein because they are the principles of international law and eternal justice, advocating the broad toleration which that solemn compact enjoins and standing ready to lend its moral support to the fulfillment thereof by its co-signatories, for the act of Rumania itself has effectively joined the United States to them as an interested party in this regard. . . .”

Although the note made a great stir, it was followed by no practical result. The British government—the only one which took any notice of it—addressed a note to the other signatories of the Berlin Treaty enquiring what they proposed to do in the matter. Apparently they proposed to do nothing. The Rumanian government laughed up its sleeve, and maintained vaguely that the naturalization of the Jews must be a gradual matter, as they became educated up to being Rumanians. How the Jews were to acquire this education, with the schools closed

to them, was a mystery which the Rumanian government enjoyed in its privy chambers, and one which tickled its royal ribs.

THE FORMATION OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Meanwhile the lot of the Jews in Russia grew daily worse. Far worse than the legal restrictions which bound the Jew hand and foot, were the series of massacres that went like a sword through the Pale. The pogroms reached their climax in South Russia, culminating with the massacre at Kishinev, on April 19 and 20, 1903.

Kishinev, the capital of the government of Bessarabia,¹ with its community of 50,000 Jews, had long been a hotbed of anti-Semitism. The death of a Christian boy in a nearby village, and the suicide of a Christian girl in a Jewish hospital at Kishinev, broke the thin thread which had kept violence in leash. Long nourished hatreds asserted themselves now with a terrifying intensity. A pogrom lasting three days came like wolves on Kishinev and left it bleeding. Forty-seven Jews were killed, and about six hundred were wounded. Hundreds of homes were sacked and burned, stores were looted, and more than two thousand Jewish families were utterly ruined. Meanwhile, the mob of Christians, helped by the police, and led by disguised army officers and students of the priesthood, received the blessings of the church on their murderous undertaking.

The news of the pogrom spread through the whole civilized world, and from all quarters came up cries of horror and protest. The Jews of America were the first to rouse themselves to action. Protest meetings were held throughout the country.² Sermons against Russia were preached in various churches.

¹ Bessarabia belongs now to Rumania, that country having seized it from Russia after the war.

² More than 75 protest meetings were held, the largest being held in New York, May 27, 1903, presided over by Mayor Seth Low, and addressed by ex-President Grover Cleveland.

Public opinion was practically unanimous in condemning Russia.³

The response to the appeal for immediate financial aid was quick and generous. Three relief agencies were organized in New York: the Relief Committee of which Emanuel Lehman was chairman and Daniel Guggenheim, treasurer; the committee of which K. H. Sarasohn was chairman, and which was in communication with the Central Relief Committee in Kishinev; and the newspapers of William Randolph Hearst. By June 7, 1903, almost \$100,000 had been sent to Kishinev by the American agencies.

The Executive Committee of the B'nai Brith framed a petition which it submitted to President Roosevelt with the request that it be transmitted to the Czar of Russia. The petition extolled the Czar personally and pleaded "that he who led his own people and all others to the shrine of peace, will add new luster to his reign and fame by leading a movement which shall commit the whole world in opposition to religious persecution." Among the signers of the petition were twenty-two governors, one hundred and fifty mayors, three archbishops, seven bishops, senators, and congressmen. The president of the United States transmitted the petition to the Czar, but that potentate declined to receive it.

The pogroms spread, multiplied. The dry props of religious bigotry burst into quick flame. Eight Jews were killed at Homel, in September, 1903, and twenty-nine at Zhitomir, on May 6, 1905. The cries for aid grew louder and more insistent. Hundreds of thousands of dollars were raised in America for the succor of suffering Russian Jews.

Jewish immigration to America grew in leaps and bounds as conditions in Russia became worse. In 1900, 60,764 Jews arrived, 37,011 of them from Russia; in 1901, 58,008 Jews ar-

³ In his speech before the executive committee of the Independent Order of the B'nai Brith, on June 15, 1903, President Roosevelt's opening remark was: "I have never in my experience in this country known of a more immediate or a deeper expression of sympathy for the victims, and of horror for the appalling calamity that has occurred."

rived, 37,660 being Russian Jews; in 1902 the Jewish immigrants numbered 57,668, 37,846 from Russia; in 1903 the number jumped to 76,203, 47,689 from Russia; 106,236 Jews arrived in 1904, including 77,544 from Russia; in 1905, 129,910 Jews arrived here, 92,388 being Russian Jews. The high-water mark in Jewish immigration was reached in 1906, with a record Jewish immigration of 153,748, 125,234 of whom came from Russia. In 1907, despite the panic here, 149,182 Jews entered American ports, 114,932 from Russia. In 1908 the immigration declined to 103,387, 71,978 coming from Russia. Conditions improved a little in Russia in 1909, and only 57,551 Jews arrived here, Russia accounting for 39,150. An increase is noted in 1910, with a total Jewish immigration of 84,260, 59,824 paying passage from Russia. In 1911, 91,223 Jews arrived here, and in 1912, 80,595. Again an increase in 1913, with a total Jewish immigration of 101,330, and in 1914, although the World War practically stopped immigration, 138,051 Jews arrived here. Probably 200,000 Jews would have come to the United States in that year if the war had not interfered. The great number of Jews coming from Russia in 1904, 1905, and 1906 was due first to the Russo-Japanese war and the desire of many Jewish youths to avoid conscription in the Russian army, and second to the outbreak of violence against the Jews as part of the counter-revolutionary movement of the Russian government. Thousands of Jewish youths were imprisoned and killed for revolutionary tendencies in this period when the Bund—the Jewish workmen's organization—flourished.

A thousand Jews were killed in the massacres on the last day of October and the first days of November, 1905. Again mass meetings were held and agencies organized to relieve the suffering of thousands of Jews made destitute in Russia. A committee of which Oscar S. Straus was chairman and Jacob H. Schiff, treasurer, collected considerably more than a million dollars from Jews and non-Jews. One hundred thousand Jews

participated in the great march of mourners through the streets of New York on December 4, 1905, while several Christian churches tolled their bells in expression of sympathy with the masses which passed by. Even from Congress came an official expression of sympathy. It read as follows: "Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the people of the United States are horrified by the reports of the massacre of the Hebrews in Russia, on account of their race and religion, and that those bereaved thereby have the hearty sympathy of the people of this country."⁴

The massacres of 1905 aroused and united the Jews of America. The need for some permanent organization to cope with such a situation became more apparent than ever now. The Alliance Israelite Universelle, while it did notable work, could not stand for the American Jews. Moreover, none of the national Jewish bodies of the United States, not even the B'nai Brith, and the Board of Delegates, could now assume to speak with undisputed authority in the name of American Jewry. An attempt to form an international committee of Jews at the General Jewish Conference which met at Brussels, Belgium, in January, 1906, proved fruitless.

Within a week after the Brussels conference, on February 3-4, 1906, a conference was held in New York City "to consider the formation of a general Jewish Committee or other representative body of the Jews in the United States." A committee appointed by the chairman, Judge Mayer Sulzberger of Philadelphia, submitted its report on May 19. About a month later the chairman announced the following committee as the nucleus of the American Jewish committee: Cyrus Adler, Washington, D. C.; Nathan Bijur, New York; Joseph H. Cohen, New York; Emil G. Hirsch, Chicago; D. H. Lieberman, New York; Judge Julian W. Mack, Chicago; Rabbi J. L. Magnes, New York; Louis Marshall, New York; Isidor Newman, New

⁴ This expression was in the form of a joint resolution passed by the House and Senate and approved by the President, on June 26, 1906.

Orleans; Simon W. Rosendale, Albany, N. Y.; Max Senior, Cincinnati; Jacob H. Schiff, New York; Oscar Straus,⁵ New York; M. C. Sloss, San Francisco; and Simon Wolf, Washington, D. C.

The American Jewish Committee was organized with sixty members. The constitution, adopted November 11, 1906, declares "The purpose of this committee is to prevent infringement of the civil and religious rights of the Jews, and to alleviate the consequences of persecution. In the event of a threatened or actual denial or invasion of such rights, or when conditions calling for relief from calamities affecting Jews exists anywhere, correspondence may be entered into with those familiar with the situation, and if the persons on the spot feel themselves able to cope with the situation, no action need be taken; if, on the other hand, they request aid, steps shall be taken to furnish it." The strength of the committee consists mainly in its personnel, comprising as it does the most influential as well as the most active Jewish leaders.

In the same year that the American Jewish Committee was organized (1906), there met at Algeciras, Spain, the International Conference to discuss certain matters relative to Morocco. Henry White, United States delegate to this conference, received instructions from Secretary of State Elihu Root to work for the rights of the Moroccan Jews. These instructions were accompanied by a letter from Jacob H. Schiff setting forth the pitiable conditions of the Jews in Morocco. Mr. White proceeded at once to bring pressure to bear upon the members of the conference, with the result that

⁵ Near the end of 1906 President Roosevelt appointed Oscar S. Straus, who had been twice American Minister to Turkey, Secretary of Commerce and Labor, and the first Jew to be honored with a United States Cabinet position. Mr. Straus was of the famous Straus family, who controlled one of the leading department stores in the United States (Macy's). Oscar Straus was a keen student of American history and deeply interested in Judaism, especially in its relation to the foundation of American government. His oldest brother, Isidor, a great merchant, was drowned on the "Titanic" in 1912. Another brother, Nathan Straus, one of America's most noted philanthropists and best beloved Jews, died in January, 1931.

a proviso was inserted in the Moroccan treaty by which the signatory powers guaranteed the security and equal privileges of the Jews in that country.

JUDAISM AND THE AMERICAN JEW

The second generation Jew in America was a problem. Biologically a Jew, politically an American, he lacked the spiritual content of the one, and the emotional content of the other. He sat on the fence, an enigma to himself, and a frequent worry to his elders.

Whatever may constitute the Jew, he is largely the result of an environment which embraces the home, the community, the state, and government and religion of the state. In order to combat an inimicable environment, a minority group may do one of two things: it may assimilate itself in the majority group, thus sacrificing identity for security; or it may further insulate itself by means of certain customs, habits, beliefs, and teachings against the encroachments of the majority group, thus sacrificing security for identity. While innumerable races, tribes, and sects have throughout history either chosen or been forced into the first alternative, Judaism has stubbornly clung to the latter.

Thus the Eastern European Jew brought with him to America a set of habits and customs, a language, and a way of living which were the result of a particular environment, and sought to transplant this ethnic content into a new and entirely different environment. Discord was inevitable. On the one hand were the older Jews trying to curb the natural flow of Judaism—for Judaism being fluid, seeks always to fill the environmental crevices and extend to the environmental confines within limits which do not destroy identity—believing certain habits and customs to be the final evolution and the end-all of Judaism; and on the other hand were the younger Jews faced with the realization that in many respects the Eastern

European Judaism of their fathers was opposed and foreign to the demands and requirements of modern American life.

Various means, mainly artificial, were employed by the older and more conservative group—who often confused Americanism with Christianity—to retain a particular type of Judaism in the American state, whether or not the two were consistent, and to keep young Jewry close to the ancient faith. The first and most important means was the Jewish Kehillah, formed in New York City, in 1909, directly after Police Commissioner Bingham had declared that the Jews were responsible for most of the crime in New York City. The Kehillah, consisting of representatives of congregations, fraternal organizations, and educational societies and institutions, united the Jews of New York, and created a definite Jewish city within a city. The Kehillah founded a bureau of education under the leadership of Dr. Samson Benderly, and established a program of Jewish education and teachers training. The Kehillah was a powerful, well-knit, centralized organization, treating all the problems that confronted New York Jewry, and uniting all the Jewish charitable organizations. Kehillahs were formed in other cities as well, notably in Philadelphia.

The question of education was a vital and most perplexing one for the Jews. The majority of Jewish boys and girls of the second generation had no Jewish education at all. Thousands of young Jews grew up with no knowledge of their religion or race history. Hebrew, the ancient language of the Jews, was becoming a dead tongue. The younger generation of Jews had no need for Yiddish.

The *chedorim* transplanted to this country by the immigrants were of little use. The Old World religious school could not thrive here. The young Jewish scholars had little respect for their teachers who did not know the English language, who were often uncouth, and who understood little of pedagogy or children.

Besides the chedorim, which were often established by the congregations, there were private teachers who had classes in

their homes or else went to the homes of the pupils. But learning was of a poor order. Pedagogic methods and aims which had perhaps been satisfactory in the Russian Pale could not survive the new milieu. If Jewish teaching was to be successful, new methods and aims, consistent with the new milieu, would have to be employed.

The Talmud Torah was an improvement over the semi-private cheder. Better teachers were usually hired, and the curriculum was improved. In its essential respects, however, the Talmud Torah was like the cheder, and like the latter it failed in its main purpose; namely, to perpetuate in the younger generation the love and respect for Hebrew learning and lore and traditions which were the very lifeblood, the very sustenance, of the Eastern European Jew.

The Sunday school was a third development, and was usually run in connection with the Reform Temples. It differed entirely from the cheder and Talmud Torah, both in curriculum and teaching methods. Modeled after its Christian counterpart, the Jewish Sunday school employed American trained teachers, and its instruction was mainly in English. Modern educational theories and methods were put into practice; Hebrew learning was relegated to an almost obscure status; courses in biblical and modern Jewish history and literature, interpreted in the Reform spirit, took the place of the learning of Hebrew prayers, the commentaries, and the Talmud.

A fourth and still later development are the Yiddish schools maintained by Nationalist, Socialist, or Communist groups and organizations. In these schools instruction is in Yiddish, and the subject matter mainly Yiddish literature. The religious element is entirely absent in most of these schools, many of them being run by atheists or agnostics. The chief aim of these schools is to keep the Yiddish language alive, to awaken a love and an appreciation for Yiddish literature, and to create, if possible, potential Yiddish writers.

Time and again attempts have been made by various individuals and at various times to establish Jewish institutions of higher learning in America. As early as 1840 Mordecai M. Noah proposed the establishment of a Jewish College in America. In 1852 Samson Simpson, founder of the Mt. Sinai Hospital of New York, organized the Jewish Theological Seminary and Scientific Institute, which was chartered in the following year with the specific purpose "of training rabbis and teachers for Jewish congregations of North America conformably to their law, ancient doctrines and traditions. . . ." The Seminary never became a reality. A tract of land in Yonkers, N. Y., which he had deeded to the institution became in 1888 the property of the newly organized Jewish Theological Seminary.

In 1902, the Jewish Theological Seminary, to which Jacob Schiff had donated a large sum of money for new buildings and an endowment, was reorganized under the name of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, and Dr. Solomon Schechter became president of the institution. Schechter, a famous Rumanian Jewish scholar, and president of the seminary until 1915, was a real gain to American Jewry. The leading exponent of traditional Judaism in America, he built up the conservative wing of American Jewry until it became one of the major divisions of Judaism in the United States.

Meanwhile, in Cincinnati, the Hebrew Union College, under the wing of Kaufmann Kohler, was flourishing. In this same period was organized the Yeshivah Rabbi Isaac Elchanan, representing unadulterated orthodox Judaism. The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning was founded in Philadelphia in 1908,⁶ through a bequest of Moses A. Dropsie of Philadelphia, who died in 1905. Besides these schools, teacher training institutions were also established. The Gratz College, established in Philadelphia in 1895, was the first school

⁶ The college has authority to confer upon its graduates the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

to make the training of teachers its special object. Teachers' schools are maintained also by the Hebrew Theological Seminary and the Hebrew Union College.

This was an era when education occupied the minds of Jewish leaders in America. Through the efforts of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis (also organized in this period) there were established in several of the larger Jewish centers yeshibot, or high schools for the study of the Talmud and other Rabbinical subjects, intended particularly for boys who had graduated from Talmud Torahs. The Young Men's and Women's Hebrew Associations, and the Council of Jewish Women, maintained classes and circles for Jewish education. The Jewish Chautauqua Society had as its primary object the popularization of Jewish subjects. A number of public libraries established special divisions for Judaica and Hebraica. The Bureau of Jewish Education, established by the New York Kehillah, made a thorough study of Jewish education in New York City. Besides, it published text-books for the study of Hebrew and Jewish history, and opened extension schools for girls.

ABROGATION OF THE TREATY WITH RUSSIA

Russia's swinish treatment of the Jews, and particularly her refusal to recognize the rights of American Jews travelling in that country, led to one of the most important acts of this era; namely, the abrogation of the American treaty with Russia.

The language of the treaty, negotiated in 1832, implied equal treatment for all American citizens. Nevertheless, as early as 1866 some correspondence about the treatment of American Jews appears in the files of the State Department. In the diplomatic correspondence between 1873 and 1879 the name of a certain Theodore Rosenstrauss, a naturalized citizen, appears quite frequently, and constitutes the first recorded instance of Russian discrimination against American Jews. The case eventually led to the introduction of the following joint reso-

lution in Congress, in June, 1879, by Samuel Cox, of New York:

"Whereas, it is alleged that by the laws of the Russian government, no Hebrew can hold real estate, which unjust discrimination is enforced against Hebrew citizens of the United States resident in Russia; and

"Whereas, the Russian government has discriminated against one T. Rosenstrauss, a naturalized citizen of the United States, by prohibiting him from holding real estate after his purchasing and paying for the same, because of his being an Israelite; and

"Whereas, such disabilities are antagonistic to the enlightened spirit of our institutions and age, which demand free exercise of religious belief, and no disabilities therefrom; and

"Whereas, the Secretary of State under date of April 29, 1879, expresses doubt of his ability to grant the relief required under existing treaty stipulations; therefore

"Resolved, by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the rights of the Citizens of the United States should not be impaired at home or abroad because of religious belief; and that if existing treaties between the United States and Russia be found, as is alleged, to discriminate in this or any other particular, as to any other classes of our citizens, the President is requested to take immediate action, to have the treaties so amended as to remedy this grievance."

The resolution passed the lower house, but no further action was taken. Diplomatic correspondence followed in which the American government claimed its rights under the treaty and urged its Minister to claim absolute equal treatment for all American citizens. The threatened expulsion of James G. Moses, an American Jew, from St. Petersburg, at a time when a large number of Jews were being driven from the Russian capital, prompted the drafting of a second resolution—intro-

duced in Congress on January 26, 1882, and passed four days later—requesting the President to send to the House all correspondence relating to the expulsion of American Israelites from St. Petersburg.

In February, 1892, Congressman S. Logan Chipman, of Michigan, introduced in Congress a resolution "to inquire into the operation of the anti-Jewish laws of Russia on American citizens." On June 10 of the same year Irvine Dungan, of Ohio, introduced a resolution "directing the severance of diplomatic relations with Russia." In 1894 the subject was brought up again before the house, this time by Isidor Rayner, Congressman from Maryland, and later Senator; and in 1895 the matter became more tense when Minister Breckinbridge wrote to the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs "that it has long been a matter of deep regret and concern to the United States that any of its citizens should be discriminated against for religious reasons while peacefully sojourning in this country." A month later the State Department wrote the United States legation in Russia as follows: "Your conclusion that it is inexpedient to press the complaint for a formal answer at present appears to be discreet, but the department must express its deep regret that you have encountered in the foreign office a reluctance to consider the matter in the light in which this government has presented it. The Russian government cannot expect that its course in exerting inquisitorial authority . . . over citizens of the United States as to their religious or civil status can ever be acceptable or even tolerable to such a government as ours, and continuance in such a course after our views have been clearly but considerately made known may trench upon the just limits of consideration."

Nothing more was done for nearly two years, although discrimination by the Russian government against American Jews, and American business houses employing Jewish agents, was still carried on. On March 31, 1897, Congressman John F. Fitzgerald, of Boston, introduced the following resolution: "Resolved, That the Secretary of State be requested to demand

from the Russian government that the same rights be given to Hebrew-American citizens in the matter of passports as now are accorded to all other classes of American citizens, and also inform the House of Representatives whether any American citizens have been ordered to be expelled from Russia or forbidden the exercise of the ordinary privileges enjoyed by the inhabitants, because of their religion."

Still nothing was done. More years dragged by. In 1902 the question was brought into Congress again by Henry Mayer Goldfogle, representative from the New York East Side, in a resolution requesting the Secretary of State to inform the house "whether American citizens of the Jewish religious faith, holding passports issued by this government are barred or excluded from entering the territory of the Empire of Russia, and whether the Russian government has made or is making any discrimination against citizens of the United States of different religious faiths or persuasions; and whether the Russian government has made regulations restricting or specially applying to American citizens, whether native or naturalized of the Jewish faith, holding United States passports, and if so to report the facts in relation thereto, and what action concerning such exclusion, discrimination, or restriction, if any, has been taken by any department of the government of the United States."

Whereupon, Secretary of State John Hay informed Congress that the effort to secure uniform treatment for American citizens in Russia was being continued by the State Department, that the exclusion of naturalized citizens of Russian origin from Russia was due to a conflict of national laws, and that American Jews in Russia were treated like Jews of other nations. All of which, of course, settled nothing. There were more resolutions in the next decade and more correspondence. President Roosevelt wrote a personal letter to Count Witte—who had come to the United States to negotiate a treaty of peace with Japan in 1905—asking him to "consider the question of granting passports to reputable American citizens of Jewish faith"; and Secretary of State Elihu Root addressed a letter to Jacob

H. Schiff in October, 1908, informing him that the administration "has urged the making of a new treaty for the purpose of regulating the subject." The "subject" became one of general interest, public men in various parts of the country excited themselves over it,⁷ Jewish leaders delivered passionate addresses, and the American press unanimously condemned the Russian policy of discrimination. Numerous state legislatures adopted resolutions urging the abrogation of the Russian treaty unless Russia changed her tactics. Congress was flooded with resolutions adopted by Jewish organizations urging action, and many public meetings were held criticizing the government for its dilatoriness in obtaining justice for its Jewish citizens. Finally, in December, 1911, a resolution, introduced in Congress by William Sulzer, of New York, abrogating the treaty with Russia was adopted, almost unanimously.

Meanwhile, President Taft, having anticipated this action by a few days, sent instructions to United States Ambassador Curtis Guild, Jr., at St. Petersburg, telling him to inform Russia of the intention of the United States government to terminate the treaty with Russia because the treaty was "no longer responsive in various respects to the needs of the political and material relations of the two countries." The notice was communicated to the Russian government on December 17, 1911, and the Senate, being informed of it the following day, fully concurred in the action of the President. The treaty was abrogated on December 31, 1912, a year after notice had been sent.

Once more America stood with the Jew.

IMMIGRATION AGAIN

Agitation for the curbing of immigration had never quite died down. There were always rumbles of dissatisfaction from some quarters, and now the rumbles grew louder and more insistent. Provisions against the admission of defectives and

⁷ Woodrow Wilson was one of the speakers against Russia.

undesirables were considerably strengthened, physical examinations were made more stringent, and the head tax was raised to four dollars. Further legislation made it necessary for immigrants to have enough money to tide them over until they got jobs. The Act of 1907 created an immigration commission which made a full inquiry into the immigration "problem" and issued a report in 1910 recommending strong restrictions. It contended that on economic grounds the increase of American population through immigration was too rapid, and that some method of restriction should be adopted. A majority of the commission favored the reading and writing test as the most feasible single method of restricting undesirable immigration. On February 1, 1913, Congress passed the Burnett-Dillingham bill which provided for the exclusion of aliens over sixteen who could not read some language or dialect, exempting only those who sought entrance to the United States solely to escape religious persecution. Disapproving of the literacy test, President Taft vetoed the bill, thus aligning himself with former President Cleveland, who in 1897 vetoed an immigration bill which provided for an educational test.

In 1914 the World War broke out. Immigration was cut down to very low levels, and the agitation for immigration restriction slowly and temporarily quieted down. This was especially the case after President Woodrow Wilson, following the examples of his predecessors, vetoed, in January of 1915, another bill providing for a literacy test and reaffirming in his veto message the ideal of America as an asylum for the oppressed of all lands.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

JEWS IN THE WORLD WAR

THE WORLD IN ARMS

ON June 28, 1914, Francis Ferdinand, nephew of the Hapsburg emperor and heir to the Austrian throne, arrived in Sarajevo, the capital of Bosnia. It was early morning. On the way to the town hall, a bomb, hurled by a Serbian patriot, exploded under the car behind the one in which Francis Ferdinand and his wife were riding. Later, on the way back, a second patriot jumped upon the running board of the royal car. Several shots cracked out. A moment later Francis Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, and his wife lay dead.

Less than a week later, Count Bechtold, the militant Foreign Minister of Austria-Hungary, presented an ultimatum to Serbia which Bechtold knew very well Serbia could not possibly accept. On July 28, Emperor Francis Joseph declared war on Serbia. The following day cannons roared, shaking the walls of Belgrade.

The war was on!

At exactly five o'clock in the evening of August 1, Germany declared war on Russia.

On August 2, German troops occupied Luxembourg and presented an ultimatum to Belgium demanding permission to move her troops across that country into France. Belgium refused and appealed to Great Britain.

On August 3 Germany declared war on France.

On August 4 German troops crossed the Belgium border.

On August 5 England declared war on Germany.

On August 6 Austria-Hungary declared war on Russia. On the following day Montenegro joined Serbia against Austria,

and two days later Serbia and Montenegro declared war on Germany.

On August 23 Japan declared war on Germany.

On November 3 Russia declared war on Turkey.

At the end of the year nearly all Europe was up in arms. For American Jewry it marked the end of one epoch and the beginning of another, an infinitely greater one; an epoch in which American Jewry became definitely the leader of world Jewry, and the only hope, the only salvation for Jewry as a whole.

AMERICAN JEWRY IN WAR RELIEF

The World War was a great catastrophe for the Jewish race—the greatest indeed since the expulsion from Spain—for at the very seat of the bloodiest fighting was the center of greatest Jewish settlement. Here where the war raged fiercest lived six million Jews. Battles were fought at their very doorsteps. Tens of thousands of Jewish soldiers were drafted into the armies. Jewish civilians, especially in Poland and Russia, were driven from their homes and slaughtered like cattle. A whole Jewish generation was destroyed. Jewish settlements which had existed since the middle ages, and even before, were utterly ruined. The very basis of Jewish life was wrecked. Half the Jewish race was homeless, helpless, hopeless, hungry, naked. Living amidst indescribable horrors, their ranks constantly depleted by disease, starvation, and massacre, their lives lay bruised at the mercy of Russian Cossacks, of German Junkers, of Hungarian anti-Semites, of the whole ignorant Polish clergy and peasantry.

The first problem of American Jewry was to help their brethren who were caught between the battle lines. Fortunately, the Jews of America had achieved by this time economic security and prosperity. They had amassed considerable wealth, and had enough time now to think of something else besides the matter of making a living.

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The American Jews responded wholeheartedly to the demand for help. Many of them were recent émigrés themselves and could appreciate the horrors of massacre and bloodshed. Others had friends and relatives in the war zone and were moved by strong personal considerations to help them. Mass meetings were held in every synagogue, in every Jewish center. Committees were formed, societies and groups were organized to aid the suffering war-torn Jewry. Those who had relatives and friends abroad sent millions of dollars to their home towns and villages. Periodic drives raised millions more.

The first concerted effort to form a nation-wide organization for the relief of European Jews was made on October 24, 1914—three months after the start of the war—with the formation of the American Jewish Relief Committee. This body was organized by the Jewish committee and worked largely among the Reform element. In the same month was formed the Central Relief Committee, which confined its work among the orthodox groups. Later came the People's Relief Committee, which conducted drives among the radical workmen. Still later the three groups, representing the diverse branches of American Jewry, united into the Joint Distribution Committee. Louis Marshall was leader and organizer of the American Jewish Relief Committee; Congressman Meyer London, socialist, directed the People's Relief Committee; and Felix Warburg was head of the Joint Distribution Committee. In the ten years from 1914 to 1924 the Joint Distribution Committee spent \$59,000,000 for the aid of Eastern European Jewry and probably saved this huge part of the Jewish race from extinction.

The campaign for relief funds served to bring the diverse branches of American Jewry closer together. Russian Jews worked with German Jews. Immigrants of a few years back labored side by side with descendants of Revolutionary War veterans. Social and theologic distinctions were forgotten in the white heat of charity.

Every organization and fraternal order joined in the great work. Every lodge, every club, almost without exception, took

part in the campaigns. Wherever a few Jews gathered for a wedding, a party, a confirmation ceremony, an engagement, or what not, collections were taken up for Eastern European Jews.

Representing the Joint Distribution Committee, Rabbi Judah Leon Magnes, leader and organizer of the New York Kehillah, went to Europe to obtain accurate information of the existing situation and to place funds in the hands of competent authorities. In the forefront of American Jewish relief work were such men as Julius Rosenwald, Nathan Straus, Jacob Schiff, Ambassadors Henry Morgenthau and Abram I. Elkus. In 1917 \$10,000,000 was raised, Rosenwald alone contributing one million.

Soon after the outbreak of the war the Jewish congress movement got under way. The idea behind the movement was the establishment of a body representative of all groups and factions of American Jewry for the purpose of deliberating upon the Jewish situation in Europe and formulating plans for the insistence upon "full rights for the Jews in all lands, and the abrogation of all laws discriminating against them" at the forthcoming peace conference of the belligerent nations. The congress was to unite American Jewry in these demands. But the movement once under way did not run smoothly. For nearly two years American Jewish leaders found it difficult to agree on the advisability of holding a congress during the war. When that question was finally settled further disagreement arose regarding the scope of its work and the methods of representation. The issue became fogged with personalities and grievances. The American Jewish Committee was not representative. Its strength lay in individual members, and on that score the committee had come in for a lot of criticism. There were many now who feared the Jewish congress movement might fall into a few strong hands and lose its democratic character.

The movement found its most ardent supporters in the more democratic Jewish circles. Abraham Shomer, the original pro-

tagonist, maintained that only through such an organization could a responsible Jewish entity be created. The mass of those who favored the congress sought a genuine representative expression of the American Jewish attitude towards the new problems that faced the Jews. It was a big undertaking and slow in getting a real start. Every attempt to induce one of the existing Jewish organizations to convene a congress was side-tracked. On March 26, 1916, the Congress Organization Committee held a meeting in Philadelphia to plan for the convening of an open congress. In June of the same year the American Jewish Committee called a conference of representatives of recognized Jewish organizations. The American Jewish Committee defended its stand by claiming that a limited gathering would be free from hectic speech and dangerous language. Besides, it wanted to keep Zionism out of the discussion.

Louis D. Brandeis, leader of the Zionist organization, was besieged by both groups for support. He came out solidly for the democratic congress idea; but he was so hotly assailed at a meeting on July 19, 1916, to consider the two forms, congress or conference, that he withdrew from active participation in the congress movement. Nevertheless, Brandeis stood loyally by the "congressists" in their battle against the conference group, which was made up of the American Jewish Committee and the radical labor wing, and parted company with the congress movement only after its leaders had compromised upon limiting its existence to the completion of its work at the peace conference.

Brandeis was of the opinion that a congress was necessary in order to establish, through mass suffrage, responsibility and authority in American-Jewish affairs. He held that a democratically elected representative body should be created which, by reason of its dependence on a wide-spread suffrage, should serve as a final body of appeal and decision in American Jewry.

When, finally, all arrangements had been completed for the holding of congressional elections on a purely democratic basis

—every Jew, man or woman, being entitled to a vote—a number of organizations decided suddenly to withdraw from the movement, beginning with the Socialist group of the “National Jewish Workers’ Association,” and followed by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Hebrew Union College, and the Central Conference of American Rabbis. The movement, however, was very little affected by these insurgents. On June 12 and 13, 1917, more than 300,000 Jewish men and women participated in the elections for delegates to the American congress. It was a thrilling moment for these men and women as they cast their vote, for there came to them the heady feeling that their exile had ended, that they were in a land of their own, that they were now a united people in the eyes of the world.

The blame for the eleventh hour attempt at disunion was laid by many at the feet of the Reform element and the Neo-Orthodox group, both of whom had for long enjoyed control over American-Jewish affairs. Strongest of the Congress supporters were the Zionists. They had won a signal victory. With the entrance of the United States in the war, however, the congress session was postponed until shortly after the Armistice. With the post-war congress we shall treat later.

It was during this period, too, that the United States government rendered invaluable aid to the cause of Zionism. When, shortly after the outbreak of the war, nearly half the Jewish population of Palestine was forced to flee the country because of Turkish military orders, an American gunboat took the refugees to Alexandria. Again, in 1915, when Palestinian Jews were reported to be starving, the U. S. Collier “Vulcan” was loaded with nine hundred tons of supplies and two American Zionists were sent over to distribute the cargo.

In 1917 a Jewish medical unit was sent to Palestine from this country. After considerable persuasion, the State Department issued a charter to the American Zionist Medical Unit and to its insignia the *Mogen David*, Shield of David, which placed the unit on an equality with the American Red Cross.

JEWS IN THE TRENCHES

On December 20, 1916, President Wilson invited the various World War belligerents to state "their respective views as to the terms upon which the war might be concluded."

They stated their respective views and went on fighting.

On January 9, 1917, Hindenburg got his way and a German crown council ordered the resumption of unrestricted submarine warfare on February 1, 1917. That this move would bring the United States into the breach on the side of the Allies, Germany knew very well; but she was equally certain that the war would be over before America could raise, train, equip, and transport any great number of troops.

On February 3 the German Ambassador to the United States was handed his passports, and President Wilson announced to Congress the severance of diplomatic relations with Germany.

On February 26 the President asked for authority to maintain armed neutrality "to protect our ships and our people in their legitimate and peaceful pursuits on the sea." The measure passed the House but was defeated in the Senate.

On February 26 the British steamship "Laconia" was sunk with eight Americans on board. A week later three home-bound American ships were sunk, and anti-German sentiment rose to a high pitch in the United States.

On April 2 President Wilson came before a joint session of the Senate and the House of Representatives and advised that Congress take immediate steps "to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the Government of the German Empire to terms and end the war."

On April 6, 1917, President Wilson issued a proclamation declaring that "a state of war exists between the United States and the Imperial German Government."

Jews responded whole-heartedly to the call for men. Citizens, non-citizens, immigrants who had stepped on American soil only three or four years before, hastened to join

the American military forces. The overthrow of the Czar in Russia had removed the last prejudices the Jews might have had to the Allied cause. Up until the Russian Revolution, Jews in America had been almost unanimously on the side of Germany, hoping deep in their hearts that Russia would get a taste of the medicine it had forced so long upon the Jews.

Nearly 200,000 Jews served in the United States military forces during the war.¹ The Jews contributed more than their share. Forming only three percent of the population, they accounted for more than four percent of the total army.

Forty-eight percent of the Jewish soldiers were enrolled in the infantry. A considerable number were in the signal corps. Ten thousand Jews were commissioned officers, one thousand of them being in the navy and marine corps. The highest ranking Jewish officer was Rear Admiral Joseph Strauss, in command of the mine laying squadron in the North Sea. Brigadier General Charles Henry Lauchheimer commanded the U. S. marine corps—the main fighting unit. There were one hundred Jewish colonels and lieutenant colonels, and five hundred Jewish majors in the army.²

More than 2,800 Jews died fighting. Ten thousand were wounded. Over 1,100 citations for valor were conferred on American Jews. One hundred and fifty Jews received the Distinguished Service Cross, 174 the Croix de Guerre, four, the Medaille Militaire, and three, the Congressional Medal of Honor—the highest of American decorations, and one which was conferred on only 90 men during the war.

The three Jews who received the Congressional medal were Sergeant William Sawelson, of the 312th infantry; Sergeant Sydney G. Gumperts, of New York and First Sergeant Benjamin Kaufman, of Newark, New Jersey. The story of these three men deserves to be told:

Sergeant Sawelson, lying in his shelter, heard some distance

¹ The names of 150,000 men with their units were gathered by the war records office of the American Jewish Committee.

² Nearly 40,000 Jews were volunteers in the American army.

off the cry of a wounded man for water. Leaving his shelter, he crawled through heavy machine gun fire to where the wounded man lay and poured through his lips what water he had in his own canteen. He then returned to his shell hole, obtained more water, and on his way back to the wounded man he was killed by a machine gun bullet.

Sergeant Gumperts started with two companions towards an enemy machine gun nest. His companions were killed, but he continued on in the face of direct fire, jumped into the nest, silenced the gun, and captured single-handed nine of the crew.

First Sergeant Benjamin Kaufman led a patrol in the Argonne forest to silence a machine gun. He became separated from his patrol, and a bullet shattered his right hand. Without hesitating he advanced on the gun alone, throwing grenades with his left hand, took one prisoner, scattered the rest of the crew, and brought gun and prisoner back to the first aid station.

One of the most dramatic incidents in the war occurred when one of the battalions of the 77th division—forty percent of whose men were Jews—was surrounded by German troops and cut off entirely from the American lines for almost a week. The battalion—later known as the “Lost Battalion”—was in a desperate situation. Food was gone, and water could be obtained only by crawling at night to a valley brook commanded by fire of the enemy.

Runner after runner was sent out to get word to the American lines of the plight of the Lost Battalion, but none of them ever returned. Every man was a target as soon as he went over the top. When the call for a volunteer was made again, Abraham Krotoshinsky, an infantry private from the Bronx, a small, shy, emaciated youth who had only been six years in the United States, stepped up to the ordeal, went over in full view of the enemy and was off to save the battalion. It was five o'clock in the morning of October 7, 1918, when he bade his companions farewell. It was almost six o'clock that night

when he saw American lines. All day he had crawled or run, while bullets whistled about him. Now as he approached the American lines his real trouble began. His English was still halting and he was afraid of being mistaken for a German. So he hit upon the idea of calling "Hello"—an expression which the Germans never thought of using. He called "Hello" until his throat ached and tears came to his eyes. At last someone heard him, and a voice called out: "Who are you and what do you want?" He was taken to headquarters, where he told his story. A band of rescuers was immediately formed and dispatched under the leadership of the young Jew. Not many of the Lost Battalion were left. Of the 679 who had entered the pocket only 252 were alive, and of these only 150 were able to walk without help . . . Krotoshinsky was still technically an alien when he performed this deed for his adopted country.³

BEHIND THE TRENCHES

Modern warfare is fought not only in the trenches. Great battles are fought and won in sound proof rooms, hundreds of miles from the firing lines; in banks, around mahogany tables; in quiet council chambers. Organization—especially industrial organization—is a tremendous factor in fighting a war. Guns, munitions, tanks, submarines must be made; factories and machinery must be created to make them. All this needs money, a lot of it, and brains.

During the greater part of the war, Bernard M. Baruch, a New York financier, and son of a noted physician, was chairman of the War Industries Board, with final authority over

³ Besides the Jewish soldiers who served in the American army, more than 4,000 young men embarked from America for Palestine in the Jewish Legion. These youths were non-citizens, who were fired with the desire to aid in the redemption of the Holy Land. It was a great day for Jewry when the Jewish legionnaires trooped on Broadway at Twenty-third street amid the blare of the street band and the huzzahs of the people.

all industries in the United States in relation to production of war supplies. He was President Wilson's right hand man.

Three of the seven members on the Advisory Commission of the National Council of Defense were Jews. They included Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor; Julius Rosenwald, head of Sears, Roebuck and Company, the largest mail order house in the world, and Bernard Baruch. Eugene Meyer, Jr. was an officer in the War Finance Corporation, and later became head of the group. Professor Felix Frankfurter of Harvard acted as special assistant to the Secretary of War, coordinating the activities of the Department of Labor with the production section of the War Department, the Navy Department, and the Shipping Board, and pacifying conflicts among workers. Manny Straus originated the idea of war savings stamps, and General S. Herbert Wolfe worked out the scheme of war risk insurance. Jews were in the forefront of the various war drives and the activities of the Red Cross.

Important, too, is social organization in the fighting of wars. Organized in April, 1917, to represent the Jews of America, just as the Y.M.C.A. represented the Protestants and the Knights of Columbus the Catholics, the Jewish Welfare Board was easily the most important Jewish organization for war work. Acting under the direct supervision of the military authorities, the Board established 200 centers with 500 workers in the camps, and 57 centers overseas behind the trenches. The Jewish Welfare Board conducted religious services for the Jewish soldiers and aided them in various ways. There were also a number of Jewish chaplains in France. The Board conducted its work even after the war and is still in existence. It is largely responsible for the growth of the neighborhood center movement.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN
ZIONISM IN AMERICA
ORIGINS

IN the year 70 C.E. a Roman army lead by Titus overran Palestine, sacked Jerusalem, and destroyed the Second Temple. From that day on, for nearly nineteen hundred years, Jews have faced the East in prayer, beseeching their God to give them back their land. Never have they forgotten the land of Israel, where once they were a nation, and built up a culture, and produced their masterpiece, the Old Testament.

Sixty years after the destruction of the Temple the Jews rose up under Bar Cochba, and for four years they staged a desperate but futile struggle for independence. In the year 134 C.E. the rebellion was crushed, and the Jewish state came to an end.

Now the Jews had no home, although a remnant lived on in Palestine through years of peace and war and shifting rulerships. They survived the Persian Chosroes, the Arabian Caliphs, the Fatimide Sultans of Egypt, the Crusades, the assaults of Saladin, the Egyptian Mamelukes, the Mongol hordes of Hulagu and Ghazan Khan, and the Ottoman Turks. During these centuries the Jews in Palestine grew weaker and stronger by turns, but at the close of the 16th century they were already a quickly degenerating people, poverty-stricken, hounded, cooped up in the four holy cities, and dependent upon alms.

The Jewish race was in exile. But what made the exile bearable was the hope that some day they would return to the land of Israel and the Temple would be built anew. Some day the Messiah would come.

Many Messiahs came, fakers most of them, or deluded

neurotics laboring under Messianic fancies. In Smyrna, in 1665, arose an arch-faker, Sabbatai Zevi, who proclaimed himself the Messiah. There were many Jews who were anxious to believe him, and throughout the Diaspora, from Alexandria, Salonica, and Aleppo to London, Hamburg, and Amsterdam, Jews packed up their belongings and made ready to set out on foot for the Holy Land, the land where once the prophets breathed.

And so it went on, but the true Messiah failed to present himself, and the Jews suffered under the yoke of persecution and hostile rulers. With intensified suffering came an intensified longing for peace and security in Israel. . . . Zionism is primarily an urge for security. In its practical aspects it is a means of safety. For those who are already safe and secure it is a symbol of unity, of culture, of historicity. As a symbol it is a balm to the Jewish spirit.

In the early part of the nineteenth century lived Hess and Kalischer, and with them begins the story of modern Zionism in the western world. Moses Hess was born in Bonn in 1812. He was a revolutionary, got into trouble with the Prussian government, and was forced to flee to Paris, where he died in 1875.

Hess was western and modern. He was civilized and cultured and entirely free from mysticism. Yet he saw no future for the Jew in the Western world. Emancipation, even if possible, was undesirable, first, because "the European nations may tolerate us, but they will never respect us," and second because the Jews are a nation, and "it is only with the national rebirth that the religious genius of the Jews will be endowed with new strength and again be re-inspired with the prophetic spirit." The establishment of Jewish colonies in Palestine, said Hess, must begin as soon as conditions in the East permitted.

Hirsch Kalischer was born in Prussian Poland in 1795. Although orthodox to the core, he was impatient with the reliance upon a miracle, a Messiah, or the improvement of

conditions in the East. It was clear that the Jews had to return to their homeland if they were to become an independent people again; then why wait, why not return now? Thus Kalischer urged, and in 1862 he went even further and proposed the immediate establishment of a Jewish Society for the colonization of Palestine.

Impressed by Kalischer's proposals, the Alliance Israelite Universelle established a Jewish agricultural school near Jaffa. At the same time interest was alive in England, where Sir Moses Montefiore had for many years been an outspoken Zionist, although his larger projects came to naught.

But out of it all came nothing practical. Hess wrote in magnificent generalities and Kalischer lacked sufficient support. Both men were Zionists before their time.

THEODOR HERZL—FATHER OF ZIONISM

The Russian anti-Semitic extravagances of 1881 gave to Zionism a new impetus. In the bloody decade that followed, even the Haskalim (the Enlightened) grasped for the props of nationalism. Here was a new rallying point, a way out. Nationalism promised security, perhaps even a creative, cultural rebirth. The thought brought with it courage and hope.

Foremost of the Russian-Jewish Nationalists was Perez Smolenskin. Assimilation, he declared, was not the goal of Judaism. The Jews are a people with a definite culture, a definite tongue, a definite way of life, and these must be retained and nourished, for they are the lifeblood of the Jew. Smolenskin's views were carried further by Leo Pinsker of Odessa, who in his pamphlet, "Auto-Emancipation," saw in a Jewish national home the solution of the Jewish problem. "The proper, the only remedy," he wrote, "would be the creation of a Jewish nationality, of a people living upon its own soil, the auto-emancipation of the Jews. . . ." And further on: "The international Jewish question must receive a national

solution." Pinsker, however, did not insist upon Palestine as the new home for the Jews; indeed, "we must not attach ourselves," he wrote, "to the place where our political life was once violently interrupted. . . . We need nothing but . . . a piece of land which shall remain our own property, from which no foreign master can expel us. Thither we shall take with us the most sacred possessions which we have saved from the shipwreck of our former fatherland, the God-idea and the Bible." Thus by fifteen years Pinsker anticipated the founders of the Zionist movement.

Although Zionism, as we have seen, is not a new thing, the Zionist movement proper dates back only to 1897, to the establishment of the Zionist Organization, to the activities and leadership of Theodore Herzl.

Herzl was born in Budapest in 1860. He was educated in Vienna and in 1891 went to Paris as correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse*. In 1895 he published his *Judenstaat*. The Jews, he claimed, must emigrate en masse to a soil upon which they can build a Jewish state, a soil which shall be their own. Palestine, because of its symbolic and historical significance, would be preferable to any other place—preferable, but not indispensable.

The Zionist movement, as conceived by Herzl, its founder, was primarily an answer to the challenge of anti-Semitism. What Herzl sought was a way out for the oppressed Jews. "The solution of the Jewish difficulty," he wrote in 1902, "is the recognition of the Jews as a people and the finding by them of a legally recognized home, to which Jews in those parts of the world in which they are oppressed would naturally migrate."

Herzl was concerned chiefly with the suffering masses in Eastern Europe. "The Jews of Eastern Europe cannot stay where they are. Where are they to do? If you find they are not wanted here, then some place must be found to which they can migrate. . . ." That place soon became for Herzl

not any place, as once he had imagined, but Palestine. The Jewish question became for him a question of Zion.

In 1897 Herzl convened the First Zionist Congress, in Basle, Switzerland. For the first time in 1900 years Jews from all parts of the world came together as representatives of a Jewish nation; for the first time since the downfall of Judaea, Jews proclaimed their right to live their own lives in the historic land of their fathers.

The aims of the Zionist movement were formulated by the First Congress in the following terms:

"Zionism strives to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law. The Congress contemplates the following means to the attainment of this end:—

"1. The promotion on suitable lines of the colonization of Palestine by Jewish agricultural and industrial workers.

"2. The organization and binding together of the whole of Jewry by means of appropriate institutions, local and international, in accordance with the laws of each country.

"3. The strengthening and fostering of Jewish national sentiment and consciousness.

"4. Preparatory steps towards obtaining Government consent where necessary to the attainment of the aim of Zionism."

Out of this program grew a new conception of a home for the Jewish people. The Jewish State disappears and in its stead emerges the Jewish National Home—the home in Palestine, and nowhere else. Zionism becomes now more than a mere defensive measure against anti-Semitism; it becomes a positive, creative, assertive force, a means of "fostering . . . Jewish national sentiment."

The First Zionist Congress which met in Basle in August of 1897 perpetuated itself in the Zionist Organization. In the first year of its existence the Organization had a membership of 78,000; in 1905 its membership reached 200,000; in 1913,

at the last pre-War Congress, the membership had dropped to 130,000.

The early Zionist was an idealist. Ridiculed and misunderstood by emancipated, Reform, and ultra-Orthodox Jewry, he dreamed his race glorious once more, living under its fig tree on a soil hallowed by biblical tradition, without, however, clearly envisaging how the change was to be made, and the problems inherent in such a change. He reveled in generalities. Palestine would be the home of the Jewish spirit. Here Jewish culture and genius would thrive. In the words of Achad Ha-Am (Asher Ginsberg), the great Hebrew writer, Palestine would be the "national spiritual center of Judaism . . . a center of study and learning . . . of spiritual purification. . . ."

In 1903 the British government, at the instance of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, tentatively offered the Zionist Organization a piece of land 6,000 square miles in area in the Guas Ngishu plateau in East Africa. At the Seventh Congress, which met two years later, the Russian Zionists, who formed the backbone of the movement, refused to consider the offer, claiming that Zionism had nothing to do with East African territories. The refusal of the offer created a breach in the Organization, the seceding group, under the leadership of Israel Zangwill, emerging eventually as the Jewish Territorial Organization, a body which never attracted any appreciable measure of popular support. If weakened in numbers by the breach, the Zionist Organization was strengthened in purpose. It had at last asserted itself and taken a definite stand. The air was cleared.

The first negotiations of the Zionist Organization with the Sultan of Turkey were not encouraging. The Sultan was a hard bargainer. While he alleged himself friendly to the Jewish people, the utmost he was ready to concede was the settlement of scattered Jewish colonies in various parts of Asiatic Turkey. The new Turkish régime, after the Revolution of 1908, was no better disposed towards the matter of colonization than the old. Dr. Nazim Bey was prepared to go

no further than had Abdul Hamid. Indeed, in 1912, Talaat Bey, speaking in the Chamber of Deputies, formally dissociated the Government from any sympathy with Zionism. Thus the movement, as Herzl had conceived it, came for the time being to a standstill.

If a charter could not be obtained, there was left only one thing to do: to develop slowly; to start from the foundations already established in Palestine; to work from within. Here was solid stuff to work with. Here were practical problems. Here was a job for practical Zionists.

Zionism coming in contact with practical problems found itself. Forces which had been latent now manifested themselves. Idealism gave way to hard work.

Education was the first big problem undertaken by the Zionist Organization. At the Tenth Congress in 1911 a resolution was passed to support educational work in Palestine from Zionist funds. At the Eleventh Congress, two years later, Dr. Weizmann voiced the project for the foundation of a Hebrew University in Jerusalem. In 1914 the maintenance of Hebrew schools was the principal rallying point of Zionist enthusiasm.

By the outbreak of the World War, Zionism had as yet accomplished nothing. It had, however, defined its objectives. It had proved itself a force to be reckoned with. It had set loose within the Jewish breast new hopes, new dreams, new courage.

ZIONISM IN AMERICA

American Jewry in the latter part of the 1890's was still provincial and still weak. The first great tide of Eastern European immigration was not two decades old; the Jewish communities were still trying to digest the raw mass of immigrants; and the immigrants themselves were still too busy trying to make a living to devote their energies to anything else.

Among the immigrants who had followed the first westward stream from Eastern Europe were members of the "Lovers of

Zion"—a society which had been founded in Russia by young men troubled with visions of a Palestine regained. Although there had been a few groups of the "Lovers of Zion" in the United States in the early 90's, they had failed to form a united front. It was not, indeed, until the publication of the *Judenstaat* in 1896, together with the writings of several prominent Hebraists—Wolf Schur in his *Ha-Pisgah*, Gerson Rosenzweig in his *Ha-Ibri*, A. H. Rosenberg and Herman Rosenthal in the *Ner Ha-Maarabi*, and the editorial utterances of the New York Tageblatt and the Chicago Courier—that the doctrine of Jewish nationalism began to assert itself in America. Shortly after the convening of the First Congress in Basle, a number of leading American Zionists met in New York and formed the "Federation of American Zionists." Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Dr. Gustav Gottheil, his son Professor Richard Gottheil—all three Reform leaders—together with Herman Rosenthal, Bernard Drachman, K. H. Sarasohn, Adam Rosenberg, David Liknaitz, I. D. Morrison, Abner Tannenbaum, Max Raisin, and S. Schaffer were the organizers. Professor Gottheil was elected president. Annual Zionist conventions have been held ever since.

Aroused by the growing popularity of the Zionist movement, the great majority of Reform leaders and rabbis opened a concerted attack against the newly formulated nationalistic doctrines. The attack was led by Dr. Isaac Mayer Wise, who at the annual meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis in Montreal in 1897 repudiated Zionism and branded its leaders as reactionaries, who would "turn the mission of Israel from the province of religion and humanity to the narrow, political and national field" and prostitute "Israel's holy cause to a madman's dance of unsound politicians." A resolution militantly aligning the Reform element against Zionism was unanimously adopted by the conference. The resolution read as follows: "Resolved, that we totally disapprove of any attempt for the establishment of a Jewish state. Such attempts show a misunderstanding of Israel's mission, which from the

narrow political and national field has been extended to the promotion among the whole human race of the broad and universalistic religion first proclaimed by Israel's prophets. Such attempts do not benefit, but infinitely harm our Jewish brethren where they are still persecuted, by confirming the assertion of their enemies that the Jews are foreigners in the countries in which they are at home, and of which they are everywhere the most loyal and patriotic citizens. We reaffirm that the object of Judaism is not political nor national, but spiritual, and addresses itself to the continuous growth of peace, justice and love in the human race, to a Messianic time when all men will recognize that they form one great brotherhood for the establishment of God's Kingdom on earth."

This stand was reaffirmed two years later at the Richmond, Va., conference of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. A resolution adopted at that time, fathered by Rabbi David Philipson, declared: "We are unalterably opposed to political Zionism. The Jews are not a nation, but a religious community. Zion was a precious possession of the past . . . but it is not our hope of the future. America is our Zion. . . . The mission of Judaism is spiritual, not political. Its aim is not to establish a state, but to spread the truth of religion and humanity throughout the world." Zionists were called "traitors, hypocrites or fantastic fools" by Dr. Isaac M. Wise while Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch of Chicago referred to them as "anti-semites," and charged Herzl and Max Nordau with misleading their brethren for their own personal gain. These anti-Zionist denunciations made more bitter the feeling between the orthodox and reform camps.

The attack of the Reform leaders failed, however, to check the spread of the Zionist movement. Two Zionist periodicals were established—*The Maccabean*, a monthly in English and *Dos Yiddishe Folk*, a weekly in Yiddish—to aid in the dissemination of Zionist propaganda. Under the leadership of Dr. Harry Friedenwald of Baltimore and Louis Lipsky of New York, Zionism took new strides. The organization be-

came larger and more complex. New groups developed within the parent body. A group of socialists formed themselves into the "Poale Zion"; a number of ultra-orthodox Zionists organized the "Mizrachi"; a woman's branch known as the "Hadassah" was established; "The Order Sons of Zion" was created as an insurance and fraternal Zionist organization; "Young Judea" took care of adolescent Zionists; while "The Intercollegiate Zionist Association" represented university and college students. With the outbreak of the World War, and the disintegration of European Zionist activity, American Zionists found themselves the leaders and the chief hope of the movement. The position of American Jewry as the rallying point of an almost bankrupt world Zionism was emphasized by the establishment of "The Provisional Committee for General Zionist Affairs." Under the direction of Schmarya Levin, this organization became the chief instrument of Zionist activity in America.

As the movement continued and gained momentum it brought into its ranks some of the most outstanding Jews in America. The Kishinev massacres in Russia converted to the cause of Zionism Rabbi Adolph Radin, Reform missionary in the ghetto, and Joseph Barondess, the labor leader. In 1907 Professors Max Margolis, Henry Malter, and Max Schloessinger resigned from the faculty of the Hebrew Union College to give themselves more wholly to Zionist work. In 1909 Dr. Judah Leon Magnes, the Reform Rabbi, influenced by the Achad Ha-Am theory—of which Professor Solomon Schechter was one of the chief proponents in America—sought the abandonment of the political program of the Zionists and the substitution of a cultural Zionism.

But with the outbreak of the war in 1914 came a halt to Zionist activities in America. Yet it was at this darkest moment that the greatest Zionist leader America has thus far produced arose in the person of Louis Dembitz Brandeis, who for the largest part of his life had been identified with the cultural life of Boston, and who had been so far removed from

Jewish affairs that his very Jewishness had been questioned as late as 1913.

Louis Dembitz Brandeis was born in Louisville, Kentucky, on November 13, 1856. His parents, who had come to America from Bohemia directly after the Revolution of 1848, named the new-born after his noted uncle, Louis Dembitz—the “Jewish scholar of the South.” Young Brandeis proved himself worthy of the name. He was a brilliant student, and graduated from the Harvard law school with highest honors. For a few months he practiced law in St. Louis, then went to Boston. He was twenty-two then. By the time he was thirty he had a lucrative practice.

As in the case of so many Jews, law proved a happy vocation for Brandeis. He won the title of “The People’s Attorney” in 1896, when he appeared without pay for the citizens of Boston in their fight against the local traction interests. He fought for the rights of women workers and the minimum wage law. His Jewishness was aroused during the cloakmakers’ strike of 1910, when, acting as mediator, he invented the preferential shop. (At this time Brandeis was not regarded as a Jew.) In 1912 he supported Woodrow Wilson in his campaign for the presidency, and in the following year he was mentioned for the post of Attorney General.

It was after 1910 that Brandeis began to take an interest in Zionism. His affiliation with the Zionist organization was reported at the Cleveland convention of 1912; and in the following year Brandeis made his first public address on Zionism, before the New Century Club in Boston. In the spring of 1913 Brandeis presided at a meeting that welcomed Nahum Sokolow, one of the leading figures in world Zionism, to America. So impressed was Sokolow with Brandeis that in his report to the Zionist Congress in Europe he made his meeting with Brandeis the theme of his account of his visit to America.

Brandeis’ academic interest in Zionism was changed abruptly by the World War. Named as head of an emergency administration and elected chairman of the Provisional Executive

Committee for General Zionist Affairs—both bodies created to meet the war time problems confronting American Zionists—Brandeis became one of the leading and most active protagonists of Zionism in the United States. Up to this time American Zionists had played only an auxiliary part in the movement. The founding of the Jewish National Fund and the Bezalel School exhibition were its most positive achievements. When Brandeis took charge in 1914 the Zionist movement was at its lowest ebb.

The Brandeis régime lasted from September, 1914, to June, 1921, nearly seven years. During this period American Zionism grew to be the most important factor in the whole movement. From the day he accepted office up until October, 1916, when he became U. S. Supreme Court Justice, Brandeis devoted a part of every day to the Zionist cause. He drew all the forces of American Zionism together, at the same time encouraging each branch in its own development. The "Poale Zion" and the "Mizrachi" flourished as never before. Within ten months the societies of the Federation of American Zionists increased in number from 198 to 270, the membership of each society increasing at the same time. Within another year a quarter of a million dollar budget was adopted; a million dollar stock corporation for Palestine was decided upon; and the Hadassah was authorized to equip a medical unit for Palestine. In 1917 the Zionist movement had become a tremendous factor in American Jewry. By the summer of 1919 the membership of the organization had increased to 149,013, with a total shekel registration of 172,887. In the same year a petition addressed to President Wilson was signed by 523,048 individuals. The total receipts within the first twenty months of the Brandeis administration were \$1,500,000. Besides \$100,000 was raised through loans to aid existing Palestinian agricultural enterprises, and tens of thousands of dollars were donated by private individuals.

THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

The Eleventh Zionist Congress, which met in Vienna in 1913, had undertaken an ambitious program of colonization. In the following six months six thousand Jewish immigrants entered Palestine. Things looked promising; then the war broke out; Turkey joined the Central Powers; the Jewish home in Palestine was threatened with destruction once more.

Almost immediately after Turkey entered the war, Dr. Weizmann proposed the establishment of a Jewish home in Palestine under the Protectorate of Great Britain. In December, 1914, he had an encouraging interview with Lord Balfour. Two years later, in October of 1916, Zionist leaders submitted to the British government a formal "programme for a new administration in Palestine and for a Jewish resettlement of Palestine in accordance with the aspiration of the Zionist movement." The main features of this program were the "recognition of a separate Jewish nationality . . . in Palestine" and the "establishment of a Jewish chartered company for the resettlement of Palestine by Jewish settlers."

Negotiations followed between the Zionist Organization and the British government. In July, 1917, a formula for a proposed declaration was submitted to the government by Zionist representatives. The formula recognized Palestine as "the national home of the Jewish people" and provided for the establishment of "a Jewish National Colonizing Corporation for the resettlement and economic development of the country." The government replied with an alternative draft, which formed the basis of what has since come to be known as the Balfour Declaration.¹

On November 2, 1917, after the government had approved

¹ England had a practical purpose in issuing the Balfour Declaration. In the first place, she desired the aid and sympathy of world Jewry for the Allied cause. In the second place, it was an expression of gratitude on the part of the British government to Chaim Weizmann for his invention of war explosives.

the draft in its final form, Mr. Balfour wrote to Lord Rothschild as follows:

"DEAR LORD ROTHSCHILD:—I have much pleasure in conveying to you on behalf of His Majesty's Government the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations, which has been submitted to and approved by the Cabinet:—

✓ "His Majesty's Government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national Jewish home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

"I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

"Yours sincerely,

"ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR."

France, Italy, and Japan expressed their sympathy with the Declaration and the stand of the English government on the Zionist question. The United States, not being at war with Turkey, was not in a position to give a formal endorsement to the Declaration. In a letter, however, to Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, on August 31, 1918, President Wilson admitted undisguised satisfaction in "the progress made by the Zionist movement in the United States and in the Allied countries since the Declaration by Mr. Balfour on behalf of the British Government of Great Britain's approval of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people." Nearly four years later, both Houses of Congress unanimously adopted a resolution in favor of "the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the Holy Places and re-

ligious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected.”²

Early in 1917, Brandeis had met Lord Balfour in Washington and had discussed with him the proposed declaration. With the issuance of the Declaration some months later, Brandeis at once started Zionist machinery moving. The Jewish Legion and the Medical Unit were organized and the Restoration Fund was founded. In 1918 a group was formed to make a survey of the historic boundaries of Palestine, with a view to determining what the Jews should claim at the peace conference. In June, 1918, at the Zionist convention in Pittsburgh, the following program was adopted:

“First, We declare for political and civil equality irrespective of race, sex, or faith of all the inhabitants of the land.

“Second, To insure in the Jewish National Home in Palestine equality of opportunity we favor a policy, which, with due regard to existing rights, shall tend to establish the ownership and control by the whole people of the land, of all natural resources and of all public utilities.

“Third, All land, owned or controlled by the whole people, should be leased on such conditions as will insure the fullest opportunity for development and continuity of possession.

“Fourth, The cooperative principle should be applied so far as feasible in the organization of all agricultural, industrial, commercial, and financial undertakings.

“Fifth, The system of free public instruction which is to be established should embrace all grades and departments of education.”

The program was carried by the American Zionist representatives to the peace conference in 1919 and was made the basis of the versions of the mandate in Palestine which the

² Joint resolution of the Sixty-seventh Congress, adopted by the Senate on May 3, and by the House of Representatives on June 30, 1922, and approved by President Harding on September 21, 1922.

American Zionists presented to their European colleagues. The program was rejected.

The year 1918 was one of preparation for the peace conference. Jerusalem had fallen; Palestine was in the hands of the British. The two thousand-year-old dream of the Jews seemed about to be realized.

On February 27, 1919, the Zionist organization laid before the Council of Ten at the Peace Conference in Paris an elaborate statement of its case. First, the Powers were to "recognize the historic title of the Jewish people to Palestine and the right of the Jews to reconstruct in Palestine their National Home." Second, Palestine was to be administered by Great Britain under a Mandate on behalf of the League of Nations. Third, the Mandate was to provide that "Palestine shall be placed under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment there of the Jewish national home and ultimately render possible the creation of an autonomous Commonwealth, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country." Fourth, in promoting Jewish immigration and settlement, the Mandatory was to accept the cooperation of "a Council representing the Jews in Palestine and of the world." And fifth, the Mandate was to guarantee "the fullest freedom of religious worship for all creeds in Palestine" and "no discrimination among the inhabitants with regard to citizenship and civil rights on the grounds of religion or race."

For the first time in modern history Jews represented themselves in their own rights before an assembly of powers. On March 2, 1919, President Wilson told a delegation of the American Jewish Congress, composed of Judge Mack, Rabbi Wise, Louis Marshall and Bernard Richards, that he was "persuaded that the Allied nations with the fullest concurrence of our own government and people are agreed that in Palestine there shall be laid the foundation of a Jewish commonwealth."

However, the battle was not yet over. Britain had made several contradictory promises regarding Palestine. The Arabs insisted that the British fulfill their promise for an Arab Palestine. France insisted upon the fulfillment of the secret Sykes-Picot agreement. The landlords of Palestine, afraid of losing their hold over the peasantry and the missionaries, urged their claims. On top of all this the British military administration fought the plan to make Palestine a Jewish homeland.

Meanwhile, the Moslem world was seething. There was unrest in India and the Near East. The Turkish empire was disintegrating. An official commission dispatched by the Peace Conference to study the Near Eastern situation reported unfavorably upon a Jewish Palestine. The British Commander-in-chief and his aides regarded the Balfour Declaration as a forgotten episode of the war and had other plans for the future of Palestine.

The year 1920 began darkly for Zionism. Popular faith in the Balfour Declaration had considerably diminished. However, the Zionists were not discouraged. Their spirits lifted when Lord Curzon, the new British Foreign Minister, reaffirmed the promise of Britain, and Colonel Lawrence expressed the opinion that Zionism "was the only practical means of settling the new Semitic Near East in order in our day." On the other hand, the military government in Britain was filling every important post in Palestine with anti-Zionists, and Arab leaders were active in every capital.

In March of 1920 Arabs began rioting against Jews in Palestine. They followed this by an attempted coup d'etat, when a Syrian congress out of a clear sky proclaimed Feisal King of Palestine and Syria, and his brother, Abdullah, King of Mesopotamia. Jews were killed in Palestine during Pass-over that year.

The coup had the opposite effect of that intended by the Arabs. The whole world protested against the Arab demonstrations and their bloodshed. The leading English newspapers

insisted that the government make good its promises to the Jews. Petitions poured in upon Parliament and upon the Supreme Allied Council sitting at that time in San Remo. President Wilson and the members of his Cabinet came to the aid of the Jews and expressed their friendliness for Zionism. Carried away by this pro-Jewish demonstration, the Allied diplomats called in Feisal and told him that the Arabs could not have Palestine and Syria. The upshot of it was that the French were given a mandate over Syria, and on April 25, 1920, the British empire was made the mandatory power over Palestine, and the Balfour Declaration was incorporated into the treaty with Turkey. Lloyd George, the British premier, appointed a Jew, Sir Herbert Samuel, High Commissioner. In New York the American Zionists organized a Thanksgiving demonstration and staged a huge parade.

THE MANDATE

At a meeting in London, on July 24, 1922, the Palestine Mandate was formally approved by the Council of the League of Nations. On September 29, 1923, the Mandate went into effect.

The Mandate was the most important document in the history of Zionism. In its preamble it recited the Balfour Declaration and added that "recognition has hereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country."

In the body of the Mandate, the articles bearing on the establishment of the Jewish national home read as follows:

Article 2.

"The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish

national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights for all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

Article 4

"An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

"The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Majesty's Government to secure the co-operation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home.

Article 6

"The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

Article 7

"The Administration of Palestine shall be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the ac-

quisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine.

Article 11

"The Administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in Article 4 to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, public works, services and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilized by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the Administration.

Article 22

"English, Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew and any statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.

Article 23

"The administration of Palestine shall recognize the holy days of the respective communities as legal days of rest for the members of such communities."

With the Mandate the Jews gained what they had prayed for nearly 2,000 years. Plans were made at once to finance the resettlement of the Jews in their ancient homeland. In America plans were launched to raise \$100,000,000 for the restoration of Palestine. In 1922 a campaign for \$9,000,000 was started in the United States by the Keren Hayesod, the Restoration Fund. In 1923 \$3,000,000 was raised. In 1926 a campaign was held to raise \$5,000,000.

In 1921, came the split in the American Zionist organization between the Brandeis faction and the supporters of Chaim Weizmann, world Zionist leader. At the June, 1921, convention of the American Zionist organization in Cleveland, Brandeis' régime was repudiated. Judge Julian W. Mack, president, and some three score delegates and members of the executive withdrew from the convention.⁸

The split was due as much to the psychological differences between the two factions as to differences in administration and policy. The followers of Weizmann were mainly Yiddish speaking, Eastern European Jews; while those of Brandeis were thoroughly assimilated Americans and Western Europeans. The difference is well expressed in the slogan: "Pinsk versus Washington."

Since that time Brandeis has not taken an active part in Zionist affairs. He organized the Palestine Development League as a means of contact for individuals; the Palestine Cooperative Company for investing in cooperative effort in Palestine; the Palestine Development Council to correlate the work of the two organizations; and the Palestine Endowment Fund for handling bequests and trust funds. All except the last were dissolved or merged into the Palestine Economic Corporation in 1925.

It had always been the dream of Brandeis and others to interest all Jews, Zionists as well as non-Zionists, in the promotion and settlement of Palestine. In Passover, 1925, when the Hebrew University was dedicated on Mt. Scopus, Jews throughout the world were thrilled. A non-partisan commission went to Palestine and studied conditions there so that non-Zionists might have a good idea of what was going on there and of the resources of the country. Following that, a meeting was held in New York in October, 1928, with Louis Marshall as chairman and Chaim Weizmann as the invited speaker.

⁸ Among those who withdrew were Jacob DeHaas, Bernard Flexner, Professor Felix Frankfurter, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Rabbi Max Heller, Horace M. Kallen, Judge Hugo Pam, Rabbi Abba Silver, Nathan Straus, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Robert Szold, and Samuel E. Waldstein.

In August, 1929, the Jewish Agency was finally organized at Zurich, Switzerland. By means of this Agency all the Jews in America were united to work for Palestine, and plans were at once made to raise \$6,000,000 during 1930.

Just a few days after the Jewish Agency was created, the whole world was horrified by news of massacres all over Palestine. Using the dispute over the Wailing Wall as a pretext, the Arabs perpetrated a series of murderous attacks which culminated in the bloody massacres at the academies in Hebron and Safed. More than a hundred Jews were killed and several hundred were wounded. At Tel Aviv the Arabs met armed resistance and were repulsed with great losses.

A storm of criticism and opprobrium fell upon Great Britain for its administration of Palestine. England was assailed for having broken its promise to make Palestine a Jewish homeland. Especially virulent were the criticisms of the Revisionists (Zionist militants), led by Vladimir Jabotinsky, who declared that England favored the Arabs. In England many people asked that the government drop its mandate. The Labor Government reaffirmed its decision to stand by the mandate and appointed a commission to investigate the charges made by the Jews. The report was unfavorable to the Jews and the British government issued an order stopping all Jewish immigration into Palestine and sales of land by Arabs to Jews.

This seemed almost a death blow to Zionist aspirations. Zionism was at a crisis. The depression in the United States during 1930 cut down collections for Palestine drastically. Chaim Weizmann resigned as head of the World Zionist group in protest at British policy and her stoppage of immigration into Palestine. For the same reason Felix Warburg resigned as head of the Jewish Agency.

In 1930 the Brandeis faction became once more associated with Zionism, Robert Szold becoming president, Brandeis acting in an advisory capacity, and Judge Mack and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise assisting. Reform Judaism has also changed

its front regarding Zionism—the rabbis supporting the movement, tacitly at least, although many Reform members are still lukewarm toward Zionist ideals.

There are at present in the United States nine national Zionist organizations, with a combined membership of more than a hundred thousand. These are: the Zionist Organization of America, with its constituent organizations, Hadassah and Order Sons of Zion, and its affiliated organizations, Young Judaea and Avukah; the American Zion Commonwealth; the Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale Zion; the Mizrachi Hatzoir; the Mizrachi Organization of America; the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society; the American Advisory Committee of the Hebrew University in Palestine; Young Poale Zion; and the Zionist Labor Party "Hitachdut Zeire Zion" of America.

At the World Zionist Congress, 1931, Nahum Sokolow was elected president of the Zionist Organization, succeeding Weizmann.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

AFTER THE WAR

ANTI-SEMITISM

THE end of the World War inaugurated a new era in the history of American Israel. In the first place, a new set of immigrants arrived in the United States, Jews of a different and higher class than the earlier arrivals. Many of them had been prosperous citizens of Eastern Europe until the war with its aftermath of revolution, rioting, banditry, and wholesale massacre ruined them, drove them to seek safety. These new Jewish immigrants totaled approximately 300,000, a large proportion of them being women and children whose husbands and fathers had been unable to bring them over during the war.

The Jews in America had grown rich and prosperous during the war years. Their pockets were well-lined. The booms in almost all industrial activities had put many of them on easy-street. The clothing trade, spurred on by the demand for millions of uniforms, flourished as never before. Wages sky-rocketed. Every Jewish manufacturer, every Jewish store-keeper, tasted of the good times.

Never in the history of the Jewish race had so many of its people enjoyed such prosperity. Millions upon millions of dollars were poured into Eastern Europe to relieve the plight of the Jews there, and to bring hundreds of thousands of them out of the hell in which they had been bleeding for years.

The new Jewish immigrants had it much easier than those who had arrived earlier. Practically all of them came to relatives, who thought nothing too good for them. They were clothed, and fed, and their children were sent to school. It

was as if American Jewry tried to make the post-war immigrant forget the sufferings he had endured.

Yet it was in this economic paradise that American Judaism began to experience for the first time a virulent anti-semitism. Borrowed from Germany, this Jew-hatred penetrated into all classes, and was especially prevalent among the intellectuals, among the more prosperous, even among government officials. It gave rise to the so-called Nordic theory, to the immigration quota restrictions, and to the articles in the Dearborn Independent.

The anti-Semitic movement had plenty of money behind it. Henry Ford carried on a private anti-Semitic campaign in the pages of the Dearborn Independent—a weekly publication which attained a circulation of about three-quarters of a million readers. Through his editors the motor magnate blamed the Jews for every national ill, for corrupting the stage, the screen, politics, and morals of America. Working along similar lines, although in a more underhand manner, were a number of former Czarist provocateurs, black-handers, and professional Jew haters.

The rise of Bolshevism in Russia, together with the fact that a number of Jews were prominent in its councils, gave accent to the prejudice against Jews, who were accused at the same time of being Bolsheviks, of seeking to establish a dictatorship of the proletariat in America, of plotting to seize the wealth of the country and to oppress the poor.

This, too, was the era of the Ku Klux Klan, which for five years or so played an extremely noisy part in American life, and whose program of Protestant white supremacy in America had for its goal the elimination of Negroes, Catholics, Jews, and all foreigners from the American scene. In the East, the Klan centered its attack upon the Jews.

Anti-Semitism in America was not a new thing. Jews had come up against it in one form or another since the founding of the republic. From Peter Stuyvesant to Henry Ford was a long unbroken line of prominent Jew-haters. Many hotels,

clubs, fraternities, and sororities had closed their doors to Jews. But now this discrimination against Jews reached new heights. Jews found it hard to get positions in schools, offices, hospitals—in practically all lines that required intellectual effort. More and more advertisements appeared asking that "only Gentiles apply." "Gentiles preferred" became almost a slogan. A number of the leading colleges and universities—Harvard among them—established a numerus clausus limiting the number of Jewish students. Anti-Semitism became widespread. Fancy hotels and summer resorts refused Jewish patronage. When Jews moved into a district the Gentiles moved out. Many landlords refused to rent to Jews. In practically all large cities certain districts were restricted against Jews.

The Nordic theory was taught in season and out by certain so-called experts who held that only those white races which had originally come from Scandinavia and adjacent countries were superior peoples, and that all other races were greatly inferior. The absurd theory found many adherents. Facts were brought in to substantiate the theory. Nordics swallowed the whole rubbish hook, line, and sinker.

The old ideal of America as the melting pot of the nations was thrown into the dust heap. Voices were heard shouting for the conservation of the old Anglo-Saxon tradition; fears were expressed that alien cultures would ruin America.

The older Jewish settlers viewed the situation with growing apprehension. To them America had been a land of tolerance, of liberty. Now they were disillusioned. It was the same here as everywhere. The more sensitive suffered the disgrace keenly.

The Jews retaliated as best they could. The Anti-Defamation League of the B'nai Brith and the American Jewish Committee carried on an heroic campaign against anti-Semitism and its demonstrations in everyday life. In defense reaction Jews threw themselves with fervor into the task of reclaiming Pales-

tine. Millions of dollars poured in as donations and loans and investments in the Holy Land.

Meanwhile, *The Dearborn Independent* carried on its scurrilous attack. For seven years, from May of 1920 to the summer of 1927, this publication was the chief agency for the dissemination of anti-Jewish propaganda in America. The articles created a furor. They sought to fasten upon the Jews the odium of having brought about the World War. They seized upon a spurious document entitled *The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion*, first published in Russia in 1905 by one Nilus, a Czarist agitator, which made astonishing claims of an organized plot on the part of the Jews to overthrow the governments of the world. They preached the warning that Bolshevism was purely a Jewish movement and part of a plan engineered by an international group of Jews to acquire world dominion. They pointed out that America was in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the Jews unless something were to be done about it. Even the Christian church was not immune from Jewish influence. "There is a mission for the pulpit," pointed out one article, "to liberate the Church from what the New Testament Scriptures call 'the fear of the Jews.'"

"The pulpit has also the mission of liberating the Church from the error that Judah and Israel are synonymous. . . .

"The Jews are not 'The Chosen People,' though practically the entire Church has succumbed to the propaganda which declares them to be so." And in the same article: "For the next twenty-five years every theological seminary should support a chair for the study of Modern Jewish Influence and the Protocols. The fiction that the Jews are an Old Testament people faithful to the Mosaic Law would then be exploded, and timid Christians would no longer superstitiously hesitate to speak the truth about them. . . ." ¹

In another article the significance of "Eli, Eli" is explained in these words: "'Eli, Eli' is not a religious hymn! It is a

¹ "Angles of Jewish Influence in American Life," issue of May 21, 1921.

racial war cry. In the low cafés of New York, where Bolshevik Jews hang out, 'Eli, Eli' is their song. It is the Marseillaise of Jewish solidarity. It has become the fanatical chant of all Jewish Bolshevik clubs. . . ."²

The Jews must face the problem squarely. The list of charges against them is "very serious":

"There is a distinct 'Jewish idea' in business and professional life which has eaten away the traditional principles of honor on which Anglo-Saxon life was erected. Every Jew knows that, every non-Jew knows it. Here and there a Jew in business or professional life makes a break-away from trickery, deception, dishonesty, and exploitation of the gullible public, and achieves success with honor, but that Jew also knows that the majority of his brethren in the same line practice different methods.

"Behind the amazing degeneracy of the modern stage and motion picture is a solid wall of Jewish ownership and control. This ownership and control must bear the responsibility for the rapid and dangerous deterioration which has come since such ownership and control was achieved.

"Behind all the shoddy and make-believe and adulteration in the staples of life is the Jewish idea of profits. . . . It is the Jews' ceaseless boast that wherever they go they change business, but not for the better.

"Beneath all the network of trivializing influence in literature, art, politics, economics, fashion and sport, is Jewish influence controlled by Jewish groups. Their Orientalism has served as a subtle poison to dry up the sound serum of Anglo-Saxon morality on which this country thrived in its formative years. Is it necessary to specify? In every movement toward a lower standard, a looser relationship, especially toward the overthrow of the

² "Jewish 'Kol Nidre' and 'Eli, Eli' Explained," issue of November 5, 1921.

old Christian safeguards, do not Jewish names predominate?"

Later on in the article the writer expresses the confidence "that a sufficient number of Jews will see the truth, and act upon it." And what is the truth? This: "a knowledge that the way they are going is the way their own Law foredooms to failure, and that the people they hope to triumph over are the people their own Scriptures say they are not to triumph over." Furthermore, "Let the Jew end forever the disgrace of an anti-defamation committee which grows frantic over innocent remarks on the part of 'Gentiles,' and is absolutely indifferent to the misdeeds of thousands of Jews who do more damage to the Jewish name than all the 'Gentile' critics and newspapers could do in twenty years."³

"Tackling the Jewish Question," the writer of the same article explains, "is not congenial work. . . . Our Race (the Christian) has little disposition to chastise any portion of humanity. . . . We have little taste for this surgical work which becomes absolutely necessary when certain corrupt influences deeply dislocate and seriously injure the common life. . . . Our Race is too fair, and always has been too fair—and upon this fairness and long-suffering the offending groups have often seriously trespassed.

". . . the Jewish power is most impressive. International Jews today occupy literally every controlling lever of power. Building up for centuries, perfecting their teamwork from generation to generation, from country to country, they have practically reached the summit. Nothing but the Christian religion remains unvanquished by them, though through false 'liberalism' even that has felt the Jewish assault. So great is this power that the very knowledge of it kills hope that any movement can ever dislodge it." Various countries have tried to curb this Jewish power, but without success. "In England the policy of absorption was adopted, and the result is that

³ "Candid Address to Jews on the Jewish Problem," issue of Jan. 7, 1922.

wherever a Jew was put into power the British Empire has reaped trouble. . . . Other little countries, exasperated beyond endurance, tried violence, and failed just as miserably as the others. . . .

"Besides this massive array of power . . . there is the veil cast over the Christian mind as to the supposedly peculiar destiny of 'God's Chosen People. . . .' The idea of the 'Chosen People' is one of the two great Biblical ideas, but that the Jews constitute the Chosen People is entirely opposed to the statement of the Bible. . . ." ⁴

The writer goes on to draw a distinction between Israel, Israelites, and the Jews ". . . the Old Testament is nine-tenths an Israelitish book, and not a Jewish book. Abraham was not a Jew; Isaac was not a Jew; Jacob was not a Jew; Moses was not a Jew; Joshua was not a Jew; Gideon was not a Jew; Samuel was not a Jew; even Esther and Mordecai were not Jews, but Benjamites; the majority of the prophets were not Jews, but Israelites." ⁵

As bad as the situation looks, there is still hope. "The Jewish Question will be solved, and its solution will begin in the United States. . . . The timid, the soft literary men in pulpits . . . the false preachers of 'Peace, peace,' . . . the shallow shouters for 'fairness,' . . . these have no place in the healing of the hurt of these times. . . . Nothing has been more shameful in the last two years than the spectacle of men bidding for the applause of bootleggers, and gamblers, and the lecherous masters of the modern stage, and the sinister Kehillah, and the anti-Christian American Jewish Committee. . . ." ⁶

Well, what is to be done? "How shall we balk this system which surrounds us and infects so much of our common life?" The remedy lies in this direction: ". . . to erect again our own moral landmarks, which the Oriental Jewish invasion has

⁴ "An Address to 'Gentiles' on the Jewish Problem," issue of Jan. 14, 1922.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

broken down. This would spell sheer doom to the whole evil system sponsored by Jews. . . .”⁷

For Jewish patterns of life, non-Jewish must be substituted. “In the place of the way of doing business which Jewish dealers have introduced, let the business men of the country adopt the old way of the white man, when a man’s word was as good as his bond, and when business was service and not exploitation.

“Let the men and women of the country learn how to buy, let them learn how to test quality in fabric and food, instead of being dependent on price tags. The merchandising practices of this country, in the hands of ruthless exploiters, have all but ruined honest merchants. Let any dweller in a great city recall the last twenty years, how the Christian merchants have been growing fewer and fewer. Why? Is it because the owners of Jewish department stores are better business men? No! The Jewish merchants began the practice of filling their store windows with goods that looked like the goods in reputable merchants’ windows, and sold them for a much lower price. The helpless public, no longer able to determine the quality of goods, and guided solely by price tags, flocked to the Jews’ store. The result is that one hears everywhere in ordinary conversation the complaint that ‘everything is shoddy.’ Of course it is, and it will remain so, until we educate people in the art of buying. That of itself will break down three-fourths of the abuses practiced in the commercial world today.

“Another contribution that can be made to the defeat of Jewish subversive influence is the examination of so-called ‘liberal’ ideas, their source, their effect, their whole tendency. Men are thinking ideas today that poison them morally, socially and economically. These ideas are as deliberately shot into society as poison gas was shot into ranks of soldiers in France. Our mental hospitality has been grossly abused, the public mind has been made a sewer. The time has come for a custom barrier to be raised for the examination of imported ideas. Unrestricted immigration of ideas has been as bad for the American

⁷ *Ibid.*

mentality as unrestricted immigration of people has been for American society.

"We have taken our amusements without thought of what was behind them in the way of deliberate intent to make us common and careless and coarse. We have read our newspapers, wholly innocent of the propaganda mixed with the news. We have even taken our religion in a Judaized form, without troubling to inquire whether it squared with the Bible, the textbook of religion. We have read our novels and have failed to see what serum the author was injecting along with his story. And all this has been possible because we have been asleep, enjoying, as we thought, a life which was swiftly being taken from us, and dreaming that the old principles still held sway.

"It is perfectly obvious that the cure for all this is to become awake, alert, to challenge the foreign influence, and to seek out again the principles which gave us our greatness.

"We have been weaned away from our natural leaders. We have been taught to look to those who cannot even speak our language and who do not hold our institutions dear. A people that turns from its own leaders, or a people whose leaders have been turned from the sacred responsibilities of the high office of leading is in a precarious position, and becomes an easy victim to confusion of soul. There is a dearth of voices in the land today, the prophets are dumb, or are reading beautiful essays to the people. Suspicion has been sowed like darnel seed between classes of the same race, the people have been broken up, and the subversive Jewish influence supports the oligarchy of unserviceable wealth at one end of the social scale, while it stimulates the baser elements of industrial unrest at the other end. And the race thus rent asunder to its own undoing, does not see this—capital does not see, and labor does not see—that the leaders of chaos are alien in blood and soul. . . .

"Surely it must be understood by this time that the Jews rule, not by reason of their brilliance or their money, but by ideas which are not even properly Jewish, but Babylonian.

They have captured the castle from within. They have been able to do so only because of our ignorance of the lineage and dignity of the stock of ideas upon which our civilization has been founded. Our people needs to engraft itself again on the parent tree and draw again the sustenance which made it great and fruitful.

"Many so-called 'gentiles' are somewhat affected by the Jews' wails of 'persecution.' This has been sufficiently discussed in previous articles, but 'gentiles' can further contribute to the solution of the Jewish Question by looking about them to see if they can discover any evidence of 'persecution' here—unless it be persecution of the Christians by the organized agencies of the Jews! In this month's Atlantic Monthly a Jewish rabbi, who undoubtedly knows better, assumes that his race is a hated race. He rather enjoys the thought and accepts it as a distinctive honor. Our 'gentile' might also observe how untrue this is—how, indeed, in this mixture of nations, the Jew gets off with less even of the harmless kind of racial animosity than any other foreign admixture.

"Above all, the 'gentile,' so-called, who in ninety cases out of every one hundred is no gentile at all (as the Jews may well admit) will do well to avoid fear. Nothing is more abject than 'the fear of the Jew,' and nothing more disastrous to the Jew than the tactics he employs to sustain that fear. The Jewish subversive power has been powerful only for evil and only where there was a disposition to evil. It has never yet succeeded in bringing shame or confusion to the right.

"Indeed, there is one sure way of gaining the respect of the Jew, and that is, Tell The Truth. No one knows better than the Jew whether statements made about Jews are true or not. 'Gentiles' may never be certain whether a statement made about the Jews may be relied upon, but Jews always know. That is why prejudice, abuse, hatred, scorn, ridicule, false charges roll off them as water off a duck. The Jews have never in all their history feared the lies of their enemies; but they have feared the truth. And if they only fear the truth in the

ancient sense, not to be afraid of it but to fear to violate it, and to fear to have the truth testify against them, then the day of Judah's return to standing has come. The truth is Judah's friend, and Israel's friend, and the world's friend. It makes hard demands; it is sometimes not easy to speak and harder still to hear; but the truth heals, as Judah is due to discover.

"There is this to say, that among the many thousands of persons who have written to the Dearborn Independent confirming out of their own observation and experience the statements made in this series of articles, there has been a most gratifying absence of the spirit of violence. At the beginning a few rabid Jew-baiters made themselves known and expressed their hope that at last a regular program of pogroms was to be instituted. We never knew how far these advances were made with knowledge of the Jewish leaders, but we do know that for a year and a half in this United States the Jewish press, and Jewish thugs, and Jewish politicians, and even some of the most respectable of the Jewish organizations did their utmost, and in some of the strangest ways, to compel this Study of the Jewish Question to lead into violence and disorder. There was nothing that the Jewish leaders more desperately desired or more tirelessly worked for.

"That was their first setback. Everywhere else in the world they had always been able to foment this sort of thing and label it 'anti-Semitism.' The label 'anti-Semitism' is one of the choicest weapons in the Jewish armory. But in the United States their plan failed. It is their first notification that in this country the Question is going to be solved; it is not to be given a new lease of life by following the old mistakes. . . ."⁸

The articles continued despite protests from many prominent Christians as well as Jews. John Spargo made public a Christian protest against anti-Semitism, which was signed by President Wilson, ex-President Taft, and Cardinal O'Connell; while various cities banned the sale of the Ford magazine.

⁸ "An address to 'Gentiles' on the Jewish Problem," issue of Jan. 14, 1922.

Challenges were thrown in the face of the motor magnate to prove the charges. Public opinion was sharply divided on the issue. The Jews were greatly aroused, seeing in the publication of *The International Jew*⁹ the opening of a new, if subtler, inquisitorial era. *The Dearborn Independent* was swamped with letters from people all over the country condemning or praising its stand on the Jewish Question.

What these anti-Jewish stench-bombs would have culminated in, had they continued their explosions, is difficult to say. That they may have ultimately led to physical demonstrations, or boycotts against Jewish business men and storekeepers, is quite conceivable. However, a monkey wrench was eventually thrown into the anti-Jewish proceedings, and the man that threw it was Aaron Sapiro. This Sapiro was an attorney for a number of cooperative agricultural produce organizations, and had drawn fire from the editors of the *Dearborn Independent*, who charged him with organizing the farmers for his own gain. Sapiro refused to stand for this accusation, and brought a libel suit against Ford.

The suit took Ford by surprise. He tried to stall it off one way and another, but after several years of delay the case finally went to trial, in the spring of 1927, before the Federal District Court in Detroit, Michigan. After the trial had lasted a number of weeks, the presiding judge granted counsel for Ford the application for a mistrial, on the ground that a juror had given a newspaper an interview. Ford had meanwhile been subpoenaed and was about to be called on the stand when the trial was halted. Mr. Sapiro thereupon announced his intention of having the case retried, and in July a date for a new trial was tentatively set.

Shortly after the trial was halted, two Ford representatives came to Louis Marshall and told him that Ford had become convinced that the charges made against the Jews in the *Dearborn Independent* were without foundation and unjust and that

⁹ The articles in *The Dearborn Independent* were published in book form, in a number of volumes, and entitled, "The International Jew."

he had decided to make amends to the Jews and desired to know what could be done to put an end to the strained relations on the part of the Jews towards him. These representatives were Earl J. Davis, of Detroit, and Joseph A. Palma, of New York. Marshall told them that there must be a complete retraction of all the false charges made, a full apology and request for forgiveness, a discontinuance of the attacks, the withdrawal of the pamphlets constituting *The International Jew*, and a pledge that like publications would never be made again.

Ford accepted these conditions and signed the apology on June 30, 1927. The apology was made public some days later. It read as follows:

"For some time past I have given consideration to the series of articles concerning Jews which since 1920 have appeared in the Dearborn Independent. Some of them have been reprinted in pamphlet form under the title *The International Jew*. Although both publications are my property it goes without saying that in the multitude of my activities it has been impossible for me to devote personal attention to their management or to keep informed as to their contents. It has therefore inevitably followed that the conduct and policies of these publications had to be delegated to men whom I placed in charge of them and upon whom I relied implicitly.

"To my great regret I have learned that Jews generally and particularly those of this country, not only resent these publications as promoting anti-Semitism, but regard me as their enemy. Trusted friends with whom I have conferred recently have assured me in all sincerity that in their opinion the character of the charges and insinuations made against the Jews, both individually and collectively contained in many of these articles which have been circulated periodically in *The Dearborn Independent* and have been reprinted in the pamphlets mentioned, justifies the righteous indignation entertained by the Jews everywhere

toward me because of the mental anguish occasioned by the unprovoked reflections made upon them.

"This has led me to direct my personal attention to this subject, in order to ascertain the exact nature of these articles. As a result of this survey I confess that I am deeply mortified that this journal, which is intended to be constructive and not destructive, has been made the medium for resurrecting exploded fictions, for giving currency to the so-called Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion, which have been demonstrated as I learn, to be gross forgeries, and for contending that the Jews have been engaged in a conspiracy to control the capital and the industries of the world besides laying at their door many offenses against decency, public order and good morals.

"Had I appreciated even the general nature, to say nothing of the details of these utterances, I would have forbidden their circulation without a moment's hesitation, because I am fully aware of the virtues of the Jewish peoples as a whole, of what they and their ancestors have done for civilization and for mankind and toward the development of commerce and industry, of their sobriety and diligence, their benevolence and their unselfish interest in the public welfare.

"Of course there are black sheep in every flock, as there are among men of all races, creeds and nationalities who are at times evil-doers. It is wrong, however, to judge a people by a few individuals, and I therefore join in condemning unreservedly all wholesale denunciations and attacks.

"Those who know me can bear witness that it is not in my nature to inflict insult upon and to occasion pain to anybody, and that it has been my effort to free myself from prejudice. Because of that I frankly confess that I have been greatly shocked as a result of my study and examination of the files of the Dearborn Independent and of the pamphlets entitled *The International Jew*. I deem

it to be my duty as an honorable man to make amends for the wrong done to the Jews as fellow-men and brothers, by asking their forgiveness for the harm that I have unintentionally committed, by retracting so far as lies within my power the offensive charges laid at their door by these publications, and by giving them the unqualified assurance that henceforth they may look to me for friendship and good will.

"It is needless to add that the pamphlets which have been distributed throughout the country and in foreign lands will be withdrawn from circulation, that in every way possible I will make it known that they have my unqualified disapproval, and that henceforth the Dearborn Independent will be conducted under such auspices that articles reflecting upon the Jews will never again appear in its columns.

"Finally let me add that this statement is made on my own initiative and wholly in the interest of right and justice and in accordance with what I regard as my solemn duty as man and as a citizen.

"Dearborn, Mich., June 30, 1927.

"HENRY FORD."

Marshall accepted the apology on behalf of the Jewish people. A few months later the Dearborn Independent was suspended. Sapiro, who also accepted an apology, became the hero of American Jewry. He was hailed as a second Mordecai, who had delivered the Jews of America from the menace of a modern Haman. . . .

JEWS AND THE PEACE CONFERENCE

When, on November 11, 1918, the news flashed around the world that the most destructive war mankind had ever fought had at last ended, Jewry rejoiced, thinking the worst was over,

and that now the Jews in Eastern Europe and the Balkans would have a taste of peace.

They were mistaken. The worst was yet to come. It was after the war ended that the greatest massacres, since the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem, occurred. Blood flowed freest in the Ukraine. Nearly a quarter of a million Jews were killed and tens of thousands died of starvation and typhus. The days of Chmielnicki were once more revived. Bandits roamed the country, looting, ravishing, murdering. In all, some two thousand massacres were perpetrated in this civil war period.

The survivors of these horrible massacres fled the country by the tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands. Jewish communities hundreds of years old lost most of their inhabitants. The Ukraine, a Jewish center for more than three hundred years, now faded into the background as far as Judaism was concerned. Poland, "the beggar on horseback," began its independent existence which it had regained as a result of the war with all sorts of anti-Jewish restrictions and legislation. Rumania, which now had nearly a million Jews, continued its nefarious treatment of its Jewish subjects. Mass meetings were held in every large city in the United States protesting against the massacres and passing resolutions requesting President Wilson to intervene on behalf of the unfortunate Jews in Eastern Europe.

On December 15, 1918, soon after the signing of the Armistice, the American Jewish Congress convened at Philadelphia. It was an historic session, for it was the first time in their history that American Jews had a really representative body to stand for them before the rest of the world. Judge Julian W. Mack, of Chicago, was elected president; Louis Marshall, head of the American Jewish Committee, was named one of the vice-presidents; and Jacob H. Schiff was made treasurer.

Judge Julian Mack, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Louis Marshall, Harry Cutler, Jacob de Haas, B. L. Levinthal, Nahum Syrkin, Joseph Barondess, and Morris Winchevsky were named dele-

gates to the Peace Conference, with instructions to demand citizenship and religious liberty for the Jews in Russia, Rumania, Poland, and the Balkans. The Congress, further, passed a resolution instructing its delegates to cooperate with the Zionist Organization, to the end that the Peace Conference might recognize the aspirations and historic claims of the Jews with regard to Palestine, and the establishment of a government in Palestine under the mandate of Great Britain acting for the League of Nations.

The American Jewish Committee named Louis Marshall and Dr. Cyrus Adler as its delegation to the Peace Conference; and the Congress delegates, the Zionist group, and the American Jewish Committee delegation sailed for Paris. Marshall was the head of the American Jewish delegations, and in a sense the unofficial ambassador of American Jewry to the rest of the world.

American Jewry stood out as the spokesman for world Jewry. It succeeded in having Palestine approved as the Jewish homeland. It succeeded in having clauses safeguarding Jewish rights inserted in the treaties with Poland, Rumania, and other states, either newly created or enlarged after the war. It was not the fault of the delegates that these clauses remained almost a dead letter.

It was during this period, too, that President Wilson appointed a commission to investigate the anti-Jewish atrocities in Poland. Henry Morgenthau, the former Ambassador to Turkey, and the treasurer of the Democratic presidential campaign of 1916, was named head of the commission. After spending a few weeks in Poland he made his report, which was entirely inadequate and which sought to excuse the Poles and minimize the atrocities that had been committed. The report aroused a storm of indignation, not only among American Jews but world Jewry as well, and made Morgenthau the most unpopular Jew in America.

Morgenthau further enhanced his unpopularity among the Jews by consistently opposing Zionism and declaring it to be

inconsistent with Americanism. Morgenthau was the leader of the anti-Zionists in America.¹⁰

On December 15, 1919, a delegation from the American Jewish Congress approached Robert Lansing, Secretary of State, with petitions protesting against the anti-Jewish excesses in the Ukraine. Lansing beat around the bush, declaring that the United States could do nothing because of the anarchic conditions prevailing in that land, but promised that if and when ever the United States recognized the Ukraine it would insist upon the protection and fair treatment of minorities and the rectification of past wrongs. Meanwhile resolutions were introduced into both houses of Congress urging the United States government to use all its influence to bring an end to the "merciless persecution of the Jewish people in Ukraine and other states in Eastern and southeastern Europe."

In May of 1920 the American Jewish Congress held its second session and received the report of the delegation to the Peace Conference. Judge Julian Mack, president of the Congress, then ruled the American Congress at an end and dissolved the organization, despite the objection of sixty-six delegates. After the adjournment of the Congress a group of delegates organized a provisional body for the formation of a permanent congress. Such a congress was ultimately organized, which assumed the responsibility of furthering and promoting the full rights of Jews, of safeguarding and defending such rights wherever and whenever they were either threatened or violated, of dealing generally with all matters relating to and affecting specific Jewish interests. The Congress has been meeting annually since its organization. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise was president of the Congress until 1930, when he was succeeded by Bernard S. Deutsch.

Thus American Jewry has now two organizations representing it internationally: the American Jewish Committee and the Congress.

¹⁰ It is interesting to note that Morgenthau was one of the few Jews of whom *The Dearborn Independent* spoke well.

POST-WAR AID FOR JEWS IN EASTERN EUROPE

The condition of the Jews in Eastern Europe, as we have seen, was anything but happy. The epidemic of pogroms and massacres took a terrible toll of Jewish lives. Millions upon millions of dollars poured into these troubled countries, but little could they do to ameliorate the suffering of the Jews.

American Jewry paid its greatest price with the lives of two men—Professor Israel Friedlaender and Rabbi Bernard Cantor. These two represented the American Joint Distribution Committee in Poland and Russia. One day they left the semi-security of the Polish cities and plunged into the Ukraine, then writhing in chaos, torn by war and revolution. Their mission was never fulfilled. On July 5, 1920, they were set upon by Ukrainian bandits and brutally murdered.

Professor Friedlaender's loss, especially, was mourned by all Jewry. As a member of the faculty of the Jewish Theological Seminary, he had become one of the leaders of traditional Judaism. He was a translator, historian, and essayist; one of the most brilliant thinkers and writers on Judaism in America; a man upon whom had settled the mantle of Solomon Schechter. . . .

When conditions in Russia had become stabilized, and it was realized that the Jewish middle classes were the chief sufferers of the revolution, the Russian government, in 1926, proposed to assist the settlement of Jewish farmers upon large tracts of land in the Crimea and the Ukraine. The land was to be given by the Russian government, and the supplies by American Jewry.

Shortly after the proposal, in 1926, a drive for \$25,000,000 was launched in the United States. Julius Rosenwald pledged \$5,000,000 and John D. Rockefeller, Jr., gave half a million. Through this fund tens of thousands of Jewish families were settled on farms allotted to them. Besides the territories in the Ukraine and Crimea, the Russian government

opened up a huge tract of land in Biera Bijan, Siberia, for Jewish settlement, and plans were made for the establishment of a Jewish republic as soon as enough Jews had settled there. This plan however, seems to have fallen through.

Besides settling many Jews on the land, American Jewry has contributed funds to buy machinery and establish shops in various cities where Jewish artisans could work, to finance loan associations, and to enable those Jews who could not become farmers to earn a living in some other way. Trade schools and various educational institutions were subsidized in Poland and other Eastern European countries, and in general the economic life of the Jew was put on a much surer basis than before. . . .

POST-WAR IMMIGRATION AND RESTRICTION

We have seen that during various periods of American history—particularly during more critical or trying periods—voices have been raised in protest against unrestricted immigration. In numerous instances these voices have been echoed by corresponding legislation. Now, with the end of the war, the voices became louder and more insistent, declaring that unless immigration were curbed the United States would be inundated by the riff-raff of Europe.

Jewish immigration to the United States during the war had ranged from 26,497 in 1915 to 15,108 in 1916, 17,342 in 1917, 3,087 in 1918, and 3,055 in 1919. In 1920, 14,292 Jews entered—a small number when compared to the pre-war immigration. It was, however, in this year that the agitation to restrict immigration became especially strong. The economic depression inflamed the opposition to unrestricted immigration. On December 6, 1920, Representative Albert Johnson introduced a bill providing for the suspension of immigration to the United States for a period of two years. Senator William H. King introduced a similar bill in the Senate, and a few days later

Senator William P. Dillingham presented a bill to limit immigration to 5 per cent of the number of each nationality already in this country. A compromise was finally reached limiting immigration during the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922 to 3 per cent of each nationality in the United States in 1910. Representatives of various national Jewish organizations, including the American Jewish Committee, the Provisional Organization for an American Jewish Congress, the Workmen's Circle, the United Hebrew Trades, and the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, appeared before Congress to protest against the restriction bill. The protest was little heeded, the bill was sent to President Wilson, and there it came to an end for a while. One of the last acts of Wilson's administration was his pocket veto of this bill—the third immigration bill, indeed, he had vetoed during his régime.

The anti-immigrationists were aroused. Super-patriots protested, 100 percent Americans raised a rumpus. America was going to the dogs. All Europe would overrun it. You could look for a Bolshevik uprising in America any day now. Professional flag wavers, chauvinists, Ku Kluxers filled the air with a ridiculous clamor, and the press with nonsense.

With the inauguration of President Harding, and the calling of a special session of Congress, one of the first pieces of business considered by that body was an immigration restriction bill—substantially the same as had been vetoed by Wilson. The bill passed through both houses and came to President Harding for signature. Louis Marshall presented a strong protest against the bill to the President, pointing out that the United States was abandoning its traditional policy; that the legislation was eminently unfair and would prevent the uniting of families; that it would be difficult to enforce; that it was discriminatory because it exempted countries of the western hemisphere; that a limitation of immigration based upon the nationality of the immigrants was unsound; that it would lead to great injustice and inequality; and that there was no

emergency requiring its passage. The protest was ignored and the bill was signed.

The bill provided that the quota of immigrants be based upon three percent of the number of each nationality resident in this country in 1910. Its effect was to discriminate in favor of the northern and western European countries, such as Scandinavia, Germany, and England, and against the eastern and southern European countries, such as Russia, Poland, and Italy. The bill was to be in effect from June 30, 1921 to June 30, 1922. In February, 1922, Congress voted to extend the three percent quota restriction to June 30, 1923. The Jews of Eastern Europe were struck hard. Tens of thousands had fled from the Ukraine and Russia to Poland, Rumania, and other countries waiting to embark for America. Many had sold all their goods and spent their last cent in their attempt to leave Europe. Now they found themselves worse off than ever. No money and no place to go. Poland threatened to kick them out, ship them back to Russia. Many were diverted to Palestine, to South America; hundreds went to Cuba and Mexico; many waited in Canada.

During the fiscal year of 1921, 119,036 Jews came to the United States; the number was cut to 53,524 in 1922, to 49,719 in 1923, and to 49,989 in 1924. On May 27, 1924, another immigration restriction bill was signed by President Coolidge which fixed the nationality quotas at 2 percent of the number of each nationality resident in this country in 1890, thus further accentuating the supremacy of the so-called Nordic immigration over the newer immigration. As a result of this law, Jewish immigration was cut to one-fifth of what it had been under the 3 percent quota law. In 1925—the first year of its operation—the total number of Jewish immigrants entering the United States was 10,292; in 1926, 10,267; in 1927, 11,483; in 1928, 11,639; and in 1929, 12,479.

Agitation for restricted immigration is not yet over. Indeed, the economic situation of 1930 and 1931, and the acute condition of unemployment, has tended to make immigration legis-

lation more stringent than ever. In February, 1931 a bill was introduced in Congress to cut 90 percent off the number of immigrants allowed under the last quota act. No action, however, was taken upon it. Agitation for total restriction of immigration is growing more insistent. This last, however, is to be considered more an emergency measure to protect American labor in a critical period than an indication of permanent policy. President Hoover, by an executive order to American consuls, has stopped immigration entirely.

✓ The restriction of immigration has had telling effects upon Jewish life in America. It has hastened, in a sense, Americanization and assimilation. It has disintegrated the ghetto. It has given perhaps a death blow to the Yiddish press. It has weakened Orthodoxy. It has practically destroyed the Yiddish stage.

Most important of all, it has taken from thousands of Jews in Eastern Europe the last hope of freedom.

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

AMERICAN JEWS IN LITERATURE

YIDDISH WRITERS IN AMERICA

VERY little of the great Yiddish literature is native. Sholom Asch, Sholom Aleichem, David Pinski, Peretz Hirshbein, Leon Kobrin, Isaac Loeb Peretz, Morris Rosenfeld—these are the great names in Yiddish literature. Yet none of these is truly American. Peretz, undoubtedly the greatest of Yiddish writers, was born a Russian and died one. A fearless critic, a keen thinker, poet, dramatist, his genius is the high water mark of Jewish literary art. His predecessors, with the possible exception of Solomon Rabinowitz, were sentimental and maudlin. His successors never quite captured the fierce power that was his.

Yiddish literature came to America in the 80's. Jewish writers, fleeing the brutalities of Russia, brought with them an art that bore the scars of oppression. They came to America in search of freedom, in search of a newer, cleaner atmosphere. But they found the ghetto instead, and the sweat shop, dark and foul, wringing the soul out of man. They poured into their writings the bitterness of their souls. They wrote of the ghetto and the sweat shop and disease and death and crushed hopes and the failure of life.

America in the 80's was not yet ready for Yiddish literature. Man had to work day and night. There was no time to read. There were no editors or publishers willing to pay for Yiddish writings. The intelligentsia refused to recognize Yiddish as a literary language, and the poor could not buy books. When Zunzer, Shaikewitz, Seiffert, and Goldfaden came to America in the first stream of Russian immigration, they immediately applied themselves to the task of writing books. But

soon starvation stared them in the face. They gave up writing. Shaikewitz and Zunzer became printers, and Goldfaden returned crestfallen to Europe.

Yiddish journalism developed in these years. This opened the door to Yiddish writers. There were men of talent among these early writers. Abner Tannenbaum came to America in 1899. In Russia he had been a wholesale druggist. He began to write as soon as he arrived in America. He translated into Yiddish novels from the French and German. He wrote popular articles on science. The people read his works eagerly. They wanted to learn. They wanted to read. If only good writers would now step forth!

J. Goido, who wrote under the name of B. Gorin, also availed himself of the Yiddish press. He came to America shortly after 1895 and became the editor of a Yiddish paper in Philadelphia. He wrote short sketches which appeared in *The Arbeiter Zeitung* and the *Abend Blatt*. He translated into Yiddish the works of Daudet, Dostoyevski, Maupassant, Sienkiewicz, Bourget, and many German and English novelists.

The first really great American Yiddish writer was Leon Kobrin. He was born in Russia and was very much influenced by the realistic writings of the great Russians, especially Chekov. He wrote realistically and vividly. His characters are of the lower classes. He describes their hungers, their passions, their everyday life. He was one of the first of a line of Yiddish realistic writers in America. About two dozen dramas in all came from his pen, and many sketches and stories.

The early Yiddish writers could not get away from the ghetto. They lived there; they slaved there. They knew the ghetto. Gurewitsch, better known as Z. Lubin, wrote the best of the ghetto stories.

Winchevsky was another of the early writers. In 1895 he started a weekly paper called *The Emeth*. His writing is smooth and polished. One cannot find better Yiddish than in his translations of Korolenko and Victor Hugo. Although he

never produced great literature, his writings had that refinement which Yiddish at this time needed.

Most of the writers of this period were associated with newly started magazines and papers, most of which were short-lived. Among these writers were Krantz, Sharkansky, Harkavy, Budianov, Feigenbaum, Katz, Solotkov, M. M. Dolizki, Wiernik, and Bukanski. They were very busy, they wrote a great deal, but no great writings came from their pens. If conditions had been different, if there had been a large reading public with money to buy books, and if there had been editors to publish them, their writings might have been of a higher order.

The finest of the American Yiddish writers are Sholom Asch, Sholom Aleichem, David Pinski, Morris Rosenfeld, and Peretz Hirshbein. Sholom Asch is the greatest Yiddish writer of the twentieth century. His first great work, *The God of Vengeance*, is one of the finest plays of modern times. At the age of thirty he came to America, got a job on the Jewish Daily Forward, wrote a book of his impressions of America, and settled here. In 1914 he wrote *Motke the Vagabond*, two years later *Uncle Moses*, in 1918 *Kiddush Ha-Shem*, *The Witch of Castillia* in 1920, *The Mother*, a novel of American mining life, in 1924, and *The Electric Chair* in the following year. *Kiddush Ha-Shem* is the greatest of his novels. It is a tremendous piece of writing. It is, perhaps, the greatest Yiddish novel ever written.

How different is the art of Sholom Aleichem! Sholom Aleichem—the most beloved and best known of the Yiddish writers—was primarily a humorist. He was often called the Jewish Mark Twain. His stories cheer and warm the heart. They are mostly of small town characters, of villagers, of Jewish children, of Chassidim, of rabbis, of things which the Russian Jew in America remembered so well. In reading the stories of Sholom Aleichem, all his past life came back to him with a rush. He could see his little home in the Russian Pale, could hear the rabbi intoning the words of the Talmud, and feel the

holiday spirit in the air. Sholom Aleichem was a great short story writer. His art was chiefly a narrative, not a dramatic, one. Sometimes he tried too hard to be funny, especially in his plays. Sometimes his short plays seem like vaudeville sketches, so broad and obvious is the humor.

David Pinski, the greatest of the Yiddish dramatists, came to America in 1899, and became the literary editor of a socialist weekly. As a critic of the Yiddish drama, Pinski has no peer. His series of articles on the Yiddish drama form the finest literary critical work in Yiddish. As a dramatist he is best known by his play *The Treasure*, a comedy of greed and money, strongly reminiscent of some of the bitter satires of Johnson.

Besides *The Treasure*, Pinski produced *Three Plays* in 1918, *Temptations*, a collection of short stories, in 1918, *Ten Plays*, in 1919 and *King David and His Wives*, a drama, in 1923. In all, his pen has turned out five volumes of dramas and three volumes of short stories.

Yiddish writers have produced their best works in the drama. Ansky's *Dybbuk* is a masterpiece. It is the great literary opus of Chassidism. Another of the great Yiddish dramatists is Peretz Hirshbein. Hirshbein was born in Grodno, Russia, and for many years warmed the long, wooden benches of the synagogue and the yeshiva. In 1905 he published his first drama, *Miriam*, and in the following year he wrote *Veite und Noente*. In 1911 he came to America, and in the same year wrote *The Haunted Inn* (Die Puste Kretshme). Other plays followed: *In a Farvorfn Vinkl*, *The Blacksmith's Daughter*, *The Green Fields*, *A Life for a Life*, *The Child of the World*, *The Devil Knows It*, *On the Sidewalk*, and a number of one-act plays. Like *The Haunted Inn*, all of his plays tend towards mysticism. His world hovers between the world of men and the world of spirits. Yet his characters are real and well drawn. His drama is never boisterous, but always calm and strong.

Max Gabel, Solomon Libin, and Z. Levin are three of the lesser Yiddish dramatists. Max Gabel has written more than

a hundred plays, most of them blood and thunder melodrama. Levin promises better things. Born in a small Lithuanian town, he came to America at the age of 17, became a typesetter, and was discovered by A. Cahan. Solomon Libin has written about sixty plays, including *Broken Hearts*, which was screened with Lila Lee and Maurice Schwartz in the leading rôles.

Among the Yiddish poets, Morris Rosenfeld stands first in the appreciation of the people. He was born in a Polish village, some sixty-eight years ago. His parents were fishermen by trade. After running off to England to escape military service, he came to America where he spent much of his youth in the sweatshops of New York. Here he learned to write his ghetto songs and songs of labor. Rosenfeld was the poet of the common people, of the worker. In his poetry they saw themselves as in a mirror: no more flesh and bone, but machines, unthinking, unfeeling. . . .

"I am lost in the terrible tumult
My ego is lost, I become a machine. . . ." ¹

If Rosenfeld was the most popular of the Yiddish poets in America, Yehoash (Solomon Bloomgarden) was perhaps the greatest. Born in Wirthballen, Russia, in 1870, Yehoash came to America at the age of sixteen. He had a hard struggle for many years, but finally won recognition with the masses as the poet who most aptly sang and expressed Zionist aspirations. One of his most beautiful books is a description of Palestine called *The Feet of the Messenger*. His greatest work, however, is his translation of the Hebrew Bible into Yiddish—Yiddish, which for its beauty, has rarely been equaled. His translation is a masterpiece and will probably rank as one of the classics of the Yiddish language. He also compiled a Yiddish dictionary, and translated Longfellow's *Hiawatha*.

There is nothing to distinguish the poetry of either Michael

¹ From "In Schap" (In the Sweat-shop).

Aaronson or A. Almi (Elihu Chaim Sheps). The *Ghetto Lieder* of Aaronson make too insistent demands upon our pity. Almi is more restrained. Some of his poems are good. But Yiddish poetry as a whole lacks calm and simplicity and descriptive beauty.

Among the lesser writers might be mentioned Reuben Brainin, Samuel Bettelheim, Leon Bassein, and Abraham Raisin. Brainin, an ardent Zionist, is the author of two volumes of short stories in Yiddish, a large number of Hebrew works, and the editor of an anthology of American-Hebrew poets. Bettelheim has written a number of articles and essays for German, Hungarian, and Yiddish papers. He came to America in 1923, and is the author of one novel, *Marcus Eibenschuetz*. Bassein, better known as Leon Elbe or Leibe de Roite, is a writer of mediocre powers. Among his works are *Barney de Melamid*, a series of satirical sketches, and *In Roiten Shein*. He is also the translator of Jacob Wasserman's *Die Juden von Zirndorf*, and Poe's *Eleven Tales*. More popular among Yiddish readers is Abraham Raisin, author of *Shut In*, *The Charitable Loan*, *The Two Brothers*, *Late*, *The Kaddish*, and *Avrohom the Orchard Keeper*.

Hebrew literature in America has had a precarious existence. Few Jews in this country are capable of conversing, much less writing, in Hebrew. At present there are two Hebrew magazines in America—*Hadoar*, a weekly, and *Sheville Hachinuch*, a monthly. There is also a Hebrew speaking society, *Histadruth Ivrit*, which has more than three thousand members, and which stands for the cultivation of Hebrew as a living language.

The greatest achievement in Hebrew so far in America is the Hebrew Encyclopedia, the *Ozar Israel*, edited by J. D. Eisenstein. Reuben Brainin, contributing editor of *The Day*, is the outstanding Hebrew writer in this country, with thirty Hebrew volumes to his credit. Among the more notable Hebrew works which have appeared in America are M. Jalomstein's *History of the United States*; W. Schur's historic-

theological studies; A. H. Rosenberg's biblical encyclopedia; Isaac Rabbinoitch's and M. M. Dolitzky's poems and Joseph Gabrielow's encyclopedia of Jewish ethics. Other Hebrew writers famed in this country are Ephraim Deinard and Naphtali Herz Imber, the author of "Hatikvoh," the national Zionist song.

The day of literary Yiddish giants is nearly over. They were born out of suffering and persecution. Modern Yiddish writers have emerged from the ghetto. They are influenced by the American rather than the Russian scene. The new Yiddish is strong, virile, often masterful. How different from Peretz and Asch are the Kentucky poems of Schwartz; *The Far West*, by Raboy, *America*, by Chester, *Races*, by Apatusha. One might well wonder whether Ignatov's works are Yiddish literature at all! Only Lavick, of all these younger writers, is poignantly Jewish. He has not escaped from the ghetto. His *Golem*—a dramatic poem of seventeenth century symbolism—is a masterpiece; and *Shmattas* is one of the finest pieces of dramatic literature in America. Of the poets, Mannie-Loeb is laureate. Music and naturalism are wedded in his verse. Sentiment is never forced; emotion never turgid. Unfortunately, he is not for the masses. His nuances escape them. He is for the few—the few who go to English and American literature for their reading.

JEWISH WRITERS IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

In France, Germany, England, America, Jews have distinguished themselves in literary pursuits. Their contributions to the national literature of these countries have been far more notable than the contributions to their own. One of Germany's greatest poets was a Jew; the author of *Jud Suess* is a Jew; so is Jacob Wasserman, one of the most significant novelists of the twentieth century; so are Lewisohn, Waldo Frank, and Untermeyer; so is the author of *Showboat*, and

the pungent Nathan; Fanny Hurst is a Jew, so is Anzia Yezierska, Maxwell Bodenheim, John Cournos, Benjamin de Casseres, and a host of others. Among the keenest critics of the American stage, among the most significant of the present day writers in America, among the most trenchant of her commentators are Jews. Why? Why don't these Jews enrich instead their own racial literature? There are many answers. When David Pinski came to America he was told it was a pity to waste his time writing in Yiddish. First, it was not a literary language; and second, there was no market or demand for Yiddish literature. Pinski himself has given the lie to the first objection; but the second is valid enough. Yiddish writers are not well paid. Many of them have to work in factories to make a living. They give up writing all together, or turn to English. Another answer is that the younger generation of Jewry in America does not speak or read Yiddish. It is only recently that modern Yiddish schools are springing up in America. But whether they can produce Yiddish writers in an English speaking, English thinking country, is very doubtful. Anyway, whatever the reason may be, it is plain that the finest Jewish literary talent is finding its best and clearest expression through the medium of Anglo-Saxon and not Yiddish.

It is a far jump from Emma Lazarus to Waldo Frank and Ludwig Lewisohn. Yet some thin, tough strand links them together. The dark history of the Jew has thrown a shadow over his art. Pessimism, cynicism and irony cloud his work. Even when he is funny, the Jew is sad.

The younger Jewish novelists are literary revolutionaries. They have broken away from Puritanism. They are not bound by literary conventions. Waldo Frank is perhaps the leader of them. He writes with consummate skill. He is an adventurer in words. His language is many faceted, hard as diamond, witty, brilliant, epigrammatic.

John Cournos is an intellectual and a realist. His words are clear and precise as sword thrusts. Throughout his work

is a breadth and a sombreness that one finds only in the Russians, or perhaps in Dreiser and Anderson. In Cournos, as in many of the other Jewish novelists, revolt is the main motif. One gets it in *The Mask*, *The Wall*, and *Babel*. In the *New Candide*, brilliant satire and clever caricature combine to ridicule certain present day conventions and institutions. The Russian influence is marked in all his writings.

Ben Hecht, Maxwell Bodenheim, and Nathan Asch are three other musketeers of revolt. Ben Hecht was a newspaper man in his early days. He founded the "Chicago Literary Times," and in 1921 wrote his best novel *Eric Dorn*. *Gargoyles* followed in 1922, the *Florentine Dagger* in 1923, and a number of novels, plays, and stories in the succeeding years. Realism is the keynote of his writings. He is cynical, but behind his cynicism there is sadness. Ben Hecht is dissatisfied, restless, questioning.

So is Bodenheim. He was born in 1894 in Hermanville, Tennessee. His schooling was cut short at the end of the seventh grade. From then on the world became his text-book. His writing is tough and sinewy. His first two novels *Blackguard* and *Crazy Man* clearly showed his tendencies. Then came *Replenishing Jessica* and *Ninth Avenue*. Bodenheim is a versifier as well as a novelist. Among his poetic works are *Minna and Myself*, *Advise*, *Introducing Irony*, *The Sardonic Arm*, *Against This Age*, etc.

Nathan Asch was born in Warsaw in 1902. He is a typical modern, free of sentimentality, sincere, and never cheap or tawdry. His first novel was written in 1925, and *Love in Chartres* came two years later. His short stories have appeared in several of the more prominent anthologies.

Among the writers who have concerned themselves chiefly with the Jewish scene in America are Anzia Yezierska, Abe Cahan, Michael Gold, Ludwig Lewisohn, and, to some extent, Fannie Hurst. Of these, Ludwig Lewisohn is the greatest artist. His prose is finished, perfect, smooth, elegant. His words are hand-picked, his taste flawless.

Lewisohn was born in Germany, in 1883. He was twenty-five when he wrote his first book: *An Introduction to German Prose*. In the same year he produced a novel called *The Broken Square*. In 1909 he experimented with verse forms and wrote *A Night in Alexandria*. During the following ten years he wrote *The Modern Drama*, *The Spirit of Modern German Literature*, *The Poets of Modern France*, *The Drama and the Stage*, and his great autobiographical work *Up Stream*. Up to this time, there has been nothing distinctively Jewish about his work. Then suddenly, as in the case of Emma Lazarus, he becomes preeminently the Jew. *The Island Within* is the story of a Jew who finds peace and tranquillity of mind only in identifying himself with the traditions of his race. The same theme is continued in *Mid-Channel*, a sequel to *Up Stream*. His sudden discovery of the Jew within him has completely overwhelmed him, and filled him with the enormous wonder of it.

Abe Cahan, though not the artist that Lewisohn is, has written one of the finest novels in the English language. Born in Russia in 1860, he came to America during the great wave of immigration in the first part of the 80's. He learned English with amazing rapidity, and writes it flawlessly. His great work, *The Rise of David Levinsky*, depicts the life of a Russian immigrant boy in America, and the rise of the cloak and suit industry in America.

Anzia Yezierska, one of the most interesting writers in America, was born in Poland in 1886, and came to the United States in 1901. She worked hard, slaved away in the sweatshops, lived in the slums, breathed the air of the tenements, and when it came time for her to write, she put all this into her work. Her first stories were of east side life in New York. Filth, disease, hunger, death walk hand in hand through the tenements. Among her writings are: *The Fat of the Land*, *Hungry Hearts*, *Salome*, *Children of Loneliness*, *Bread Givers* and *Arrogant Beggars*.

Yezierska writes a curious sort of Yiddo-English. She has

a lightning style. Words fly like sword points. Sometimes characters fail to develop, and parts to hang together. But she is always exhilarating, always stimulating, always sincere.

Fannie Hurst, perhaps the most commercially successful of the Jewish writers in America, was born in Hamilton, Ohio, in 1889. She made her literary debut in 1914 with a book called *Just Around the Corner*. Two years later she wrote *Gaslight Sonatas*, and in 1917, *Every Soul Hath Its Song*. She made her real bid for fame in 1919 with *Humoresque*, and from this time on her pen was busy. The *Vertical City*, a collection of short stories, was written in 1920; *Lummox* in 1924; *The Passionata* in 1925; *Song of Life* in 1927; *Processional* and *Five and Ten* in 1928; *A President Was Born* in 1929 and *Back Street* in 1930. She has also written several plays, and is a very frequent contributor to the magazines.

Michael Gold served his apprenticeship as a gentleman of the press. He was editor of *The Liberator* from 1919 to 1921; and directed the *New Masses* from 1924 to 1925. He has written a collection of short stories, a biography, a play of Negro life, and a novel of Jewish life. He is a genuine man of letters, serious, and honest.

Among the Jewish American novelists who have drawn upon the New York east side for their material and inspiration should be mentioned Samuel Ornitz. He has written four books: *The Sock*, *Haunch*, *Paunch and Jowl*, *Round the World with Jocko the Great*, and a *Yankee Passional*. He is best known for his exciting book, *Haunch, Paunch and Jowl*, a narrative of ward bosses, shady politics and Tammany graft.

Five other novelists remain to be mentioned, Emma Wolfe, Thyra Sampter Winslow, Konrad Bercovici, Edna Ferber and Robert Nathan. The first three may be passed over with a word. Emma Wolfe, a native of San Francisco, never reached real heights. Her stories are unreal and theatrical. *Other Things Being Equal*, *A Prodigal in Love*, *The Joy of Life*, *Heirs of Yesterday*, *Fulfillment*, and numerous stories and articles constitute her contribution to American letters.

Thyra Sampter Winslow writes pleasingly, and is the author of a novel, and numerous short stories and articles. Konrad Bercovici writes of the Gypsies and the Tartars. His stories are interesting, often thrilling, and always rich with color.

Edna Ferber, one of America's most fluent novelists, was born in Kalamazoo, Michigan, in 1887. Her pen, uninfluenced by the Jewish scene, has moved busily and often brilliantly over two decades of years. Her works include: *Dawn O'Hara* (1911), *Buttered Side Down* (1912), *Roast Beef Medium* (1913), *Personality Plus* (1914), *Emma McChesney and Co.* (1915), *Fanny Herself* (1917), *Cheerful by Request* (1918), *Half Portions* (1919), *The Girls* (1921), *Gigolo* (1922), *So Big*—a real success—(1924), *Show Boat*—a tremendous success—(1926), *Mother Knows Best* (1927), *Royal Family* (with Kaufman in 1929) and *Cimmaron* (1930). *Show Boat* was equally successful as a novel, musical comedy and movie, while *Cimmaron* made one of the best "talkies" of 1931.

Robert Nathan has approached greatness in nearly all of his books. Thorough artist, stylist, he handles his pen with consummate delicacy and lightness. His writing is always charming, always gracious, his prose always lyrical. His works include: *Peter Kindred* (1919), *Autumn*—perhaps his finest book—(1921), *Youth Grows Old* (1922), *The Puppet Master* (1923), *Jonah*—a biblical story in modern dress—(1925), *Father in Barley* (1926), and *The Woodcutter's House* (1927).

Among the Jews who have distinguished themselves in American drama are: Kaufman, Moeller, Shipman, Anspacher, Gold, Bashe, Dymow, Rice, Raphaelson, and Behrman.

Louis Kaufman Anspacher wrote his first play in 1904. It was a poetical drama called *Tristan and Isolde*, and was followed by fourteen other plays, none very good or very bad. Ossip Dymow is a playwright of the old school. He was born in Bialystock in 1880 and produced a number of melodramas after he came to America. His contribution to American drama has not been a serious one. We may also dispose

summarily with Samuel Shipman, although he has turned out a considerable number of box-office successes.

George S. Kaufman was a newspaper man before he became a dramatist. His first success was *Dulcy*, which he wrote in collaboration with Connelly. Five months later the company of Kaufman and Connelly produced *To the Ladies*, and still later *Merton of the Movies*. In 1924 they turned out their first real play—*Beggar on Horseback*. *The Butter and Egg Man*, which Kaufman wrote alone, proved an amusing comedy without much literary merit. He has also collaborated in *The Coconuts*, *The Royal Family* and *Strike Up the Band*. All three have been genuine box-office successes.

Em Jo Basshe and Michael Gold have not done much in the drama as yet. Basshe is still in the experimental stage, trying his hand at various forms. Gold has not yet succeeded in turning out a significant drama, although *Hoboken Blues* and *Siesta* approached the mark. Samson Raphaelson is another who has not yet arrived. *White Man*—a stirring, tragic play about Harlem negroes—is prophetic of a significant future.

Behrman and Moeller are accomplished writers. Moeller has interested himself chiefly in the Little Theater Movement, and was one of the founders of the Washington Square Players and the New York Theater Guild. He has written numerous one-act plays, and has directed most of the Guild plays. Samuel Behrman has written several smart comedies. He is clever, knows how to write sharp dialogue, and how to create an interesting situation. The best of his plays is *The Second Man*, a highly sophisticated comedy of love and manners.

By far the most significant of the Jewish American dramatists is Elmer Rice (Reizenstein before the war). Elmer Rice was born in New York City in 1892, studied law, but never practiced it. He wrote *On Trial* in 1914, which proved a tremendous success. During the next fifteen years he produced the *Adding Machine*, a very remarkable play in the modern manner, and *The Subway*, a similar play, but not

nearly as good. Following these two highly fantastic plays came a series of one-acters, a collaboration with Dorothy Parker, and then *Street Scene*, the Pulitzer Prize winner of 1929. In *Street Scene*, Rice has contributed an authentic piece of work to American dramatic literature.

Jews have produced less in poetry than in either the drama or the novel. The greatest of modern Jewish poets is Louis Untermeyer. The stuff of his poetry is the familiar and the commonplace, and his favorite themes, love and jealousy. He is keenly sensitive to the beauty of words, and brings to bear upon his utterance a vivid, sympathetic, and imaginative spirit.

James Oppenheim is one of the more notable of the modern versifiers. Individualism is the keynote of his poetry, both in form and substance. Oppenheim has produced some of the most original and distinguished verse in modern American poetry.

Among the humorous poets the Jews are represented by Arthur Guiterman, Newman Levy, Samuel Hoffenstein and Dorothy Parker. Guiterman is the author of some of the most delightful nonsense verse, shrewd humor, and clever satire; Levy, lawyer, aviator, and poet, is the author of *Twelve Hundred a Year* (in collaboration with Edna Ferber), *Opera Guyed*, *Gay But Wistful*, and *Saturday to Monday*; Hoffenstein, one of the greatest of the humorous poets in America, is famous for his *Poems in Praise of Practically Nothing*—a masterpiece of satirical humor; while Dorothy Parker, witty, bitter, and cynical, is the poet of the younger generation.

Perhaps more than in any other field of literary writing, the Jews have distinguished themselves in criticism. In the appreciation and interpretation of Spanish-American literature, Isaac Goldberg has no peer. Among the dramatic critics George Jean Nathan is a figure of the first importance. He writes with a rapier-like wit, and hits out at anything which does not suit his fancy. He is the author of many books on the drama and is the dramatic editor of several periodicals. Alan Dale, although not as youthfully energetic a critic as

Nathan, was of sound scholarship and keen critical understanding. He was, before his death, connected with several papers, and is the author of fourteen books. Gilbert Seldes is not only a brilliant journalist, but a playwright and a critic of modern art. *You Can't Print That*, and *Truth Behind the News* are his chief works; while his translation of *Lysistrata* was a Broadway success.

Benjamin de Casseres, Walter Lippmann, and Horace Meyer Kallen are three of the most notable essayists in America. Benjamin de Casseres wields a terribly destructive pen and traces his ancestry back to Baruch Spinoza. Lippmann, though less an iconoclast than de Casseres, is an equally positive force in American thought and culture. Horace Meyer Kallen, professor at the New School of Social Research in New York, is one of the more liberal and constructive thinkers of this country. His works, chiefly philosophical in nature, include *William James and Henry Bergson*, *Creative Intelligence* (with John Dewey and others), *Zionism and World Politics*, *League of Nations Today and Tomorrow*, *Why Religion*, etc.

Finally there are Lewis Browne and Herman Bernstein. Although of English birth, Browne made his name in America, first as rabbi, then as lecturer and author. In 1925 he wrote a history of the Jews called *Stranger Than Fiction*, which was selected by the American Library Association for the League of Nations Library. In 1926 he wrote *This Believing World*, a history of religions and religious beliefs. In 1927 came *That Man Heine*, in 1928 *The Graphic Bible*, and in 1931 *Since Calvary*. He writes in a popular, easy style, and since winning fame has been a steady contributor to American periodicals.

Herman Bernstein, one of the outstanding of American journalists, was born in Russia in 1876. He founded "The Day" in 1914; was editor-in-chief of the "American Hebrew" from 1916 to 1919; was special correspondent for the "New York Herald" during the war; was editor of the "Jewish Tribune" from 1925 to 1929 and was appointed United States Minister to Albania in 1930. His works include *The Flight*

of Time, a collection of poems, written when he was twenty-three; *In the Gates of Israel*, *Contrite Hearts* and *The History of a Lie*, in which he exposed the *Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion*.

A host of younger Jewish writers are constantly arising. They are drawn chiefly to the theater or to the press, where one can more easily make a living with his pen. They are writing history, criticism, fiction; they are contributing abundantly to the literature of their country.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

THE JEW ON STAGE AND SCREEN

THE YIDDISH THEATER IN AMERICA

ABRAHAM GOLDFADEN, the father of the Yiddish theater, was born on July 12, 1840, at Old Constantin, government of Volhynia, in South Russia. He grew up among books and early became interested in literary matters. In 1865 he published a collection of Hebrew poems, and in the following year one in Yiddish. He went from one thing to another, became in turn a government teacher, a cashier, a proprietor of a millinery shop. His business failed, he went into bankruptcy, and became a journalist. Together with his friend Lenetzki he published a humorous magazine called *Yisrokel*, which ran for six months before it was suspended by the Russian government. At this time Goldfaden moved from Lemberg to Czernowitz, where, in 1876, he issued the *Bukowiner Israelitische Volksblatt*. Like its predecessor it was short lived, and Goldfaden moved to Yassy. He had by this time two plays to his credit, *The Two Neighbors* and *Aunt Sosie*. Both were unsuccessful.

Goldfaden was also a composer. He had a flair for writing singable melodies, and when Goldfaden arrived in Rumania his songs were already well known there and were sung in the coffee houses. The drama at this time was a hybrid thing, usually built around a comic and a singer; and Goldfaden, following the contemporary fashion of the theater, turned out a number of dramatic operettas. From Bucharest, Goldfaden went to Odessa where he formed a dramatic group, and headed a company at the Maryinski theater. The company proved a success until dissension arose over the question of salaries. The result was the company split in two, Goldfaden heading one

group, and Lerner, a writer, the other. It was about this time that Goldfaden wrote his two famous musical plays, *Bar Kochba*, and *Shulamith*.

On September 14, 1883, the Russian government terminated the career of the Yiddish theater in that country. And with the termination of the Yiddish theater in Russia, Goldfaden's career practically terminates too. He came to New York, but left it in disgust. He did very little after that. But he had already established a distinct school of dramatic writing, and if he laid down the pen, there were a hundred to pick it up. He had founded a school of dramatic writing which persists today in the Yiddish theater. The lilting melodies, the buffoon, the horse-play, the ribald jests, the genuine folk humor, the warbling heroine, the rough burlesque, the caricature of old world Jewish types—all are his. All these sprang from his pen, and they have had a magic life.

With the closing of the Yiddish stage in Russia, the scene shifts to America. Here we come across Boris Thomashefsky—often called the father of the Yiddish theater in America. We come across him first in a cigar shop in the lower east side of New York, where he sits at his bench rolling the brown leaves together, and dreaming. He dreams he is an actor, strutting the boards, proclaiming his lines, gesticulating, waving his arms, his voice thunders, now drops to a whisper. Then the foreman comes along, prods him in the ribs, and wakes him out of his dream.

Unlike most dreams, this one of Thomashefsky's materialized. It happened that one of the workers in the shop had two brothers who were actors in a dramatic troupe in London. When Thomashefsky heard this he went to a friend, Frank Wolf, a saloon keeper, and induced him to bring the dramatic troupe to New York. The venture proved a flat failure. The actors could not act, and Mr. Wolf went back to the saloon business. He was through with the show business. But not so Thomashefsky.

Golubuck, the chief actor of the defunct group, did not lose

heart either. Gathering together a few actors, he rented the old Bowery Garden, and began to give two performances a week. At the same time Thomashefsky went around to his relatives, picked out a number of likely ones, and started a second troupe.

During the following summer a new group of actors arrived from London. They were far superior to the two rival companies, and succeeded in forcing the latter out of the city. Golubuck went to Chicago and Thomashefsky to Philadelphia.

Despite its ability, the new troupe had little success. It performed the plays of Goldfaden and Hurowitz. Lateiner was its playwright. In the early years of the Yiddish theater—and even to this day—every troupe had its playwright. Very often the playwright was owner or part owner of the troupe he wrote for.

Lateiner wrote many plays, mostly cheap melodrama. The company lost money. The Yiddish theater-going public was small. The educated or Americanized Jew did not go to the Yiddish theater. The latter, especially, did not want to be taken for a greenhorn; while the former could go to see Booth and Jefferson act Shakespeare.

Then into the scene stepped Mogulesco with a new company of actors, including Kessler and Leon Blank. Their playwright was M. Hurowitz. Now began a real fight between the two playwrights. The air became foul with gossip and slander, and rivalry ran keen as a blade. Actors would switch from one company to another with such frequency, that sometimes the same actor would play with the two different companies on the same night.

In 1890 Jacob Adler came to New York. He had been here before with a London troupe but had been forced to return. This time the audiences acclaimed him the greatest Yiddish actor in America. Mogulesco was jealous. He rented the large Thalia Theater. Actors, producers, playwrights fought each other. The years between 1891 and 1893 were the most hectic in Yiddish theatrical history.

Hurowitz and Lateiner were the reigning playwrights in the nineties. For almost a decade no other playwrights could have a play produced without their permission. The theater had meanwhile sunk to a low level. People came to the theater to laugh or cry. They came to forget their troubles. Lateiner and Hurowitz gave them fierce melodrama and cheap comedy. The acting was bad and the plays worse—until Jacob Gordin came to America.

Jacob Gordin came to New York in 1890. He was thirty-seven, a revolutionary, and a student of the drama. He was acquainted with the best of the European stage, and was thoroughly disgusted with the dramatic fare dished out by the two moguls of the Yiddish theater in America. He talked things over with some of the better actors, and learned that they too were dissatisfied with Lateiner and Hurowitz, and would leave them in a minute if some good dramatist would come along.

This is all Gordin wanted to know. He began to write plays. His first two plays, *Siberia* and *The Pogrom* were financial failures. The Yiddish theater-goer of the nineties was not prepared for good acting or good drama. Truth was drab behind the footlights, and naturalism uninteresting. He preferred bad German to good Yiddish, and caricature to realism. He came to forget, not to be reminded, of his own sordid existence.

Gordin instituted a new era in the Yiddish drama in America. He brought realism into the theater. Often in his attempt to be true to life he used too powerful a lens. He was not a great creative artist. His chief successes were adaptations from classics, or at least inspired by them. His best play, *Gott, Mensch und Teifel* was largely a steal from Faust.

Gradually, Lateiner and Hurowitz ran dry, their plays missed fire, their prominence dwindled, and before they knew it younger men had stepped into the theatrical arena to demon-

strate their wares. Among them were Leon Kobrin, Zolotarevsky, and Zelig Libin.

These men could write. They turned out drama that sometimes touched the hem of art. Jacob Adler had a chance now to show his genius. He was the greatest Yiddish actor of his day. He acted the plays of Gordin (indeed he gave Gordin his first chance in America), Shakespeare, Schiller, Goethe, and Tolstoi. Intelligent Jews sat up and took notice. American critics came to the east side theaters and went away with words of praise. Broadway managers came and went away with Bertha Kalisch, Morris Morrison, and Rudolph Schildkraut. The Broadway managers offered them sums that opened their eyes. One by one the best of the Yiddish actors left for the English stage.

Meanwhile many of the older theater-goers were grumbling. They wanted their old melodrama back. Education had been too rapid. Gordin and Shakespeare and Tolstoi were above their heads. They wanted their comic, their buffoon, their ribald jests, all the ugly and sentimental clap-trap that Lateiner and Hurowitz had injected into their pot-boilers.

So when Yiddish vaudeville made its debut in the early nineties the people were ready for it. Here was their old drama back in a new, easily digestible form. With the turn of the century melodrama flourished again. Dramatists who shut their eyes to art made money. Zolotarevsky manufactured melodrama and became rich. Those who would not stoop suffered. Sholom Aleichem produced two plays in New York and failed. It was the same with Pinski and Asch. Dramatic clubs were organized to produce the plays of these writers. But these isolated efforts were not strong enough to stem the tide of mediocrity.

This state of affairs continued until 1918 and '19. But here and there were hopeful signs of unrest. The younger actors were dissatisfied. Playgoers were becoming more critical. In the summer of 1918 Maurice Schwartz and Ben Ami, two of the most talented of the younger Yiddish actors, raised

some money among their admirers, leased the Irving Place Theater—formerly a German playhouse—got together a well-balanced company, and introduced art into the Yiddish theater. Upon the advice of some friends, the first play put on the boards by the new company was a worthless melodrama. The more intelligent playgoers left the theater with a bad taste in the mouths and sorely disappointed. With the next play, however, Schwartz and Ben Ami showed they meant business. This time they produced *Dos Verforfen Vinkel*, by Hirschbein, a simple play of Jewish life in a Lithuanian village—and scored an artistic as well as financial success.

Encouraged by this, Ben Ami, together with Henrietta Schnitzer and Emanuel Reicher, left the parent company and organized the Yiddish Art Theater. In September, 1919, they moved into the abandoned Garden Theater, and produced, in succession, *The Idle Inn*, by Hirschbein, *Lonely Lives*, by Hauptmann and the plays of Pinski, Ossip Dymow, Sven Lange, Przybysewski, Asch, and other modern Yiddish and European playwrights.

Meanwhile, at the Irving Place Theater, Schwartz, despite the loss of Ben Ami and several others, worked steadily at his art, and presented some of the finest plays in Yiddish dramatic repertory.

The Yiddish Art Theater prospered. Ben Ami, its moving spirit, became director of the theater after Emanuel Reicher resigned to join the New York Theater Guild. Others followed him. In time even Ben Ami went over to the English stage, never to quite duplicate his Yiddish successes.

Eight years after its founding, the Yiddish Art Theater moved into its new home on Second Avenue and Twelfth Street (once the site of Peter Stuyvesant's estate), and opened its doors with a presentation of Abraham Goldfaden's farce, *The Tenth Commandment*. The new theater, built by lawyer Nathan N. Jaffe, is a magnificent oriental structure—perhaps the finest legitimate showhouse in New York.

The Yiddish Art Theater, headed now by Maurice Schwartz,

presents the high water mark of Jewish theatrical history in America. Schwartz, a consummate artist and excellent director, is joined by such eminent actors as, Lazar Freed, Abraham Teitelbaum, Ben-Zvi, Celia Adler, Bina Abromowitz, Anna Appelbaum, Gershon Rubin, and a score of others. Each year, after the regular New York season, the cast tours many of the larger cities in the Middle West, and brings to the provinces the best in Yiddish dramatic art.

The Jewish theatrical horizon in America is dark. Yiddish theaters in New York are closing down. Conditions in the provinces are worse. The Liberty in Brooklyn and the McKinley Square in Brooklyn are dark. Henry Katz, manager of the Second Avenue National, committed suicide over his losses. Max Gabel's Public Theater is a member of B. S. Moss' movie circuit. Ludwig Satz—the greatest Yiddish comedian in America—is losing money steadily in his theater. Schwartz is not doing as well as he should. Even the Second Avenue citadel of dramatic art where Molly Picon—the Marilyn Miller of the Yiddish stage—dances and sings her way into nearly six figures per annum, is not making money for the management.

Several reasons may be offered for the decline of the Yiddish theater in America: one, restricted immigration; two, the almost complete Americanization of the younger generation; three, the rise of the movies; four, increased rentals on the east side (the annual rental of the Public Theater is \$90,000); five, depression in the needle trades; six, lack of cooperation among theatrical producers.

With immigration cut to the bone the Yiddish theaters have lost their greatest source of revenue. Americanization, assimilation, and the talkies have taken additional toll. The generation that filled the pockets of Lateiner and Hurowitz has passed away. The younger generation is not attracted to the Yiddish theater. Of those who would patronize the Yiddish theater, many are disgusted with the physical conditions ex-

isting within the theater, and with the prevailing dramatic fare itself.

But what about the Yiddish Art Theater? Will it be able to survive the trend of the times? Will it be able to withstand the influences which slowly but surely are determining the decline of the Yiddish stage in America?

The Yiddish Art Theater looks less to the older generation than to the new. Never wholly dependent upon the immigrant class or needle workers, it cannot be so disastrously affected by either the restrictions on immigration or the depression in the trades as the Yiddish theater in general. Its destiny depends, in the main, upon the survival of Yiddish among the younger generation of Americanized and educated Jews; and upon a greater realization on their part that the Yiddish theater may be (and is—in the case of the Yiddish Art Theater) an exacting medium for great dramatic art.¹

JEWS ON THE AMERICAN STAGE

Many of the most prominent of the present day actors on Broadway are Jews. A number, as we have seen, served their apprenticeship on the Yiddish stage. Bertha Kalisch, Ben Ami, and Vera Gordon were stars in the Yiddish theater before the English stage and large salaries lured them away.

Among the comedians on the English stage Jews reign supreme. George Sidney graduated from Miner's Bowery Theater, where he performed on amateur nights, to Broadway and Hollywood. The Marx brothers are among the merriest fun makers on stage and screen. Jack Pearl, star of *Artists and Models*, *Follies*, and other reviews, is a master comic. George Jessel is one of the finest comedians on the American stage. Ed Wynn (Israel Edwin Leopold) star of *The Perfect Fool*, *The Ed Wynn Carnival*, *The Grab Bag*, and *Manhattan*

¹ Since this writing, the Yiddish Art Theater has closed its doors. Maurice Schwartz is now on the English stage. So is Thomashefsky.

Mary, is considered by many the supreme comic in America. He got his start in his father's hat store where he amused the customers by trying on hats that were either too small or too large. He made his Broadway stage debut in 1908, and since then has convulsed more audiences by his clowning than perhaps any other comic in America.

Eddie Cantor and Al Jolson, the two supreme stars of revues and the musical comedy stage, are Jews. Eddie Cantor, a product of New York's east side, went from vaudeville to burlesque, and from burlesque to Morosco, Ziegfeld and the Shuberts. He starred in *Kid Boots*, earned \$5,000 a week in *Whoopee*, and made altogether, it is said about \$5,000,000 in the show business.

Al Jolson was born Asa Yoelson, in St. Petersburg, Russia, the son of a poor cantor. He was brought to America as an infant, and showed an early leaning towards ragtime, despite the protests of his father who hoped that young Asa might follow in his footsteps, and those of the five generations of cantors that had gone before him. But Asa's ambition ran along different lines. He left home, got a job as a ballyhoo man with a travelling circus, changed his name, went into vaudeville, and established himself as a black-faced artist. As a member of Dockstader's minstrels he came to the attention of J. J. Shubert, who put him into the Winter Garden shows. The rest is theatrical history. *Dancin' Around* was followed by *Robinson Crusoe, Jr.*, *Sinbad*, *Bombo*, and *Big Boy*. When George Jessel refused to play the leading part in the film version of the *Jazz Singer*, Warner signed up Jolson, and a new and exciting era opened up for the black-face king of America.

The vaudeville and musical comedy stage is emblazoned with Jewish names. Sophie Tucker has roared and danced her way through more than twenty years of vaudeville and musical comedy; Weber and Fields were a household word for nearly three decades; Nan Halperin, and Belle Baker still shine bright after many years of active service; Nora Bayes was one of

America's chief comediennes at the time of her death; Eugene Howard (born Levkowitz) has starred for many years in vaudeville and revues; Vivienne Segal glorified the musical stage before the movies got her.

Fewer Jews have appeared in the serious theater. Ben Ami is one of the most finished actors on the English stage; Bertha Kalisch, Alla Nazimova (now with Eve LeGallienne's Civic Repertory Theater), and Francine Larrimore are superb actresses; David Warfield will go down in the annals of the American theater as the creator of the "Music Master"; Louis Mann, Robert Warwick, and Kenneth MacKenna (Leo Mielziner, Jr.) will be remembered for their excellent performances; Florence Reed (daughter of the famous comedian, Roland Reed) has played in *Hamlet* with Sothorn, and starred in the *Yellow Ticket*, *Chu Chin Chow*, *East of Suez*, and the *Shanghai Gesture*.

As producers, executives, and managers, the Jews clearly monopolize the theatrical profession and industry. David Belasco began his career as stage manager of the Baldwin Theater in San Francisco—the city of his birth. After learning his trade thoroughly he came east in 1880 and became associated later with Daniel Frohman. Belasco has been equally successful as playwright and producer. From his pen came *Zaza*, *The Darling of the Gods*, *The Return of Peter Grim*, *Kiki*, *Laugh*, *Clown*, *Laugh* (later made into a screen success with the late Lon Chaney), and other famous productions.²

The Shuberts—Jacob L. and Lee (Sam S. is dead)—are synonymous with American theater. Daniel Frohman, famous theatrical manager, left the newspaper business for the show business, and is today among the leaders of the field. Edgar Selwyn, equally at home in New York and Hollywood, made his first appearance as an actor in 1896, went into stock, wrote a number of stage and screen successes—including *Dancing Mothers*, *Rolling Stones*, *Father and Son*, etc.—and be-

² Belasco died in 1931.

came established as a stage and screen producer of note. Gustav Bloom, producer of *The Shame Woman*, *Gertie*, *Spring Song*, *The Mystery Man*, etc., is a Jew. So are Morris Green, Solomon Hurok, and Al H. Woods. Morris Green is known for his association with A. L. Jones and Joseph Leblang in the production of the *Greenwich Village Follies*, *Desire Under the Elms*, *The Squall*, etc. Solomon Hurok has established himself as a concert and theatrical manager of distinction. He is the American representative of the *Habima*—a Hebrew theatrical troupe from Moscow; has acted as manager for Zimbalist, Ysaye, Elman, Tetrizzini, Isa Kremer, Pavlowa, and Chaliapin; and was instrumental in bringing the Russian Opera Company to the United States.

Jews, too, are Gus Edwards, who has had under his tutelage such famous stars as Eddie Cantor, the Duncan Sisters, Helen Mencken, George Jessel, Georgie Price, Lila Lee, Bert Wheeler, Charlie King, Sammy Lee, and others; Sam H. Harris—once the manager of Terry McGovern, former world's featherweight champion; Albert Lewis—who produced *Chicago*, *Easy Come Easy Go*, and *The Donovan Affair*; Horace Liveright, producer of the *Firebrand*, *Hamlet* (in modern dress), *Dracula*, etc.; Morris S. Schlesinger, who gave up his studies for the rabbinate to go into the theatrical game; Frank Mandell, member of Schwab and Mandell, ex-newspaper man, and author of a number of stage and musical successes; Joseph Leblang, theatrical financier, author of the cut-rate ticket idea, and owner of several New York theaters; Marc Klaw, member of the firm of Klaw and Erlanger; Jed Harris (born Horowitz), one of the younger and more enterprising of the producers, and responsible for such outstanding successes as *Broadway*, *Coquette*, and *The Royal Family*, and Morris Gest, who, besides being the producer of more than fifty plays, was the first to introduce to American audiences the original Russian Ballet, Balieff's *Chauve Souris*, Michel Fokine—the Russian ballet master, the Moscow Art Theater, the *Miracle* (staged by

Reinhardt), and the Moscow Art Theater Musical Studio of Vladimir Nemirovitch-Dantchenko.

JEWS IN THE MOVIES

The moving picture industry is almost entirely in the hands of the Jews. With the exception of Cecil DeMille, there is not an outstanding figure in moviedom that is not Jewish. The rise of the moving picture industry in America is essentially the result of Jewish enterprise and brains. From the sweatshop and the penny-arcade came brainy Jews to transform the one-reel western flicker into one of the five greatest industries in America—and almost, comparatively speaking, over night.

At the head of the Columbia Pictures Corporation is a Jew, Joe Brandt. William Fox occupies the throne of the Fox Film, the Fox Theatres Corporation, and the Midwesco Theaters, Inc. Jews control Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, Inc.—a subsidiary of Loews Inc. Adolph Zukor, a Jew, is president of the Paramount-Famous-Lasky players. Sam Katz heads the Publix Theaters Corporation. J. S. Schnitzer is president of the R.K.O. Products. Joseph M. Schenck presides over the affairs of the United Artists Corporation. Carl Laemmle is president of the Universal Pictures Corporation. And H. M., I. L., and Albert Warner are president, vice president, and treasurer, respectively, of Warner Brothers.

Almost without exception the present day leaders of the moving picture industry were poor, hardworking, immigrant Jews. Albert Warner came from Poland. Adolph Zukor, an Hungarian Jew, left the hardware and fur business to go into the movie business. William Fox, also an Hungarian Jew, was a humble clothes sponger in a New York cellar in his less prosperous days. Joseph M. Schenck, who came from Russia in 1892, was a drug clerk in New York, and later part owner of a penny-arcade with Marcus Loew. Samuel

Goldwyn, born in Warsaw, Poland, started his vocational career as an office boy in Gloversville, New York. Benjamin P. Schulberg, organizer of the United Artists and Preferred Pictures Corporation, is a native American and former reporter. Carl Laemmle, father of Universal City, came from Laudheim, Germany, in 1884 and was manager of a small clothing establishment in Oshkosh, Wisconsin, until 1906. Sam Katz started life as a piano player in Carl Laemmle's movie house in Chicago in 1906, and a decade later was part owner, with Mr. Baliban, of one of the largest chains of movie houses in America.

The Jew has also distinguished himself as actor, scenario writer, and director. Among the latter may be mentioned Irving Thalberg (husband of Norma Shearer), and Ernst Lubitsch. Jewish scenario writers include the names of Harry Behn—famous for the *Big Parade* and *The Crowd*, Paul Bern, Isadore Bernstein, Herman Bernstein, Morton Blumenstock, Al Boasberg, Alfred A. Cohn—scenario writer of *The Jazz Singer*, *Cat and the Canary*; Leopold Jacobson; Edward Kaufman; M. Levy; Sam Mintz; and Paul Schofield.

It is, however, from the managerial and executive end that Jews wield their greatest power. They are the demi-gods of the movie industry. They are the great chefs of entertainment for a hundred and twenty-two million Americans. They have made Hollywood and Los Angeles, they have given jobs to more than a half million men and women, they have created an industry which is producing the only new and genuine art form of modern times.

CHAPTER TWENTY

JEWS IN THE FINE ARTS

JEWS IN MUSIC

Of all the fine arts, music has made the greatest appeal to the Jew. His musical genius, on the whole, has been interpretive rather than creative. It is as instrumentalist and conductor that he has made his chief contributions.

It is curious that the violin has sung its sweetest song in the hands of the Jew. Violin virtuosity has become almost synonymous with Jewish musical genius. Clear the concert stage of Jews and one would hear no more the bowings of Elman and Heifetz, Brown and Kuikoff, Huberman and Jacobson, Kochanski and Menuhin, Mischakoff and Morini and a hundred others.

Mischa Elman was born in the little village of Talnoye, Russia, on a cold January day in the year 1892. He early manifested a musical talent, and before he was five he could already play simple folk tunes on a little fiddle which his father had bought him. When he was twelve he entered the Imperial Music School at Odessa, and here, one day, Leopold Auer (also a Jew) heard him play, and the great master took the young boy with him to St. Petersburg. His debut followed soon after, when Auer, unable to fulfill a concert engagement at the Deutsche Liedertafel, sent his twelve year old pupil to play in his stead. That evening the old concert hall rocked with applause. The Mendelsohn Concerto had been played flawlessly; Paganini's "Motto Perpetuo" had flown from his fingers. It was a great triumph for the young boy; and from now on successes followed one another in almost monotonous regularity.

On his sixteenth birthday, Elman played before his first

American audience as soloist with the Russian Symphony Orchestra. "To hear Mischa Elman on the concert platform," wrote a New York music critic, the next day, "to listen to him play with that wealth of tone, emotion, and impulse which places him in the very foremost rank of living violinists, should be a joy enough for any music lover. Tone, technique, temperament, intelligence, artistry, musicianship, are all combined in his work."

In the same year that Elman entered the Odessa Conservatory, there was born in Vilna, Lithuania, in the home of a poor Jew, the greatest modern technical genius of the violin—Jascha Heifetz. Like Elman, Jascha showed an early inclination towards music. He began to give public performances from the time he was eight, and was hailed everywhere as the greatest child prodigy of the age.

When Jascha was ten, he entered the Conservatory at St. Petersburg, and for the next six years studied under the great Auer. On October 27, 1917, in Carnegie Hall, New York, Heifetz made his American debut. His fame had preceded him, and the hall was packed with people eager to hear the child wonder of Europe. The concert created a tremendous furor. People rushed to the stage, cheering and clapping their hands and crying for the boy to give them more. For days musical New York could talk of nothing but Heifetz, and his second concert sold out weeks in advance. "This modern young Orpheus," wrote Leonard Lieblich, the New York critic, "seems to do all the things with a violin which the fabled charmer accomplished with a lyre. Heifetz remains unapproached in the perfection of his finger and bow manipulation, the refined wistfulness of his tone, and the unique appeal of his playing."

Efrem Zimbalist, the third of the great American-Jewish trio of violin virtuosos, was born in Rostov-on-the-Don, Russia, on the 9th of April, 1889. He received his first training from his father, who was an orchestra conductor, and in the fall of

1903 he became a student of Auer's at the Conservatory of St. Petersburg.

Three years after Elman demonstrated his genius with the Tschaikowsky Concerto in New York, and six years before Heifetz came to Carnegie Hall, Efrem Zimbalist, already famous on the continent, made his first bow to American audiences as soloist with the Boston Symphony Orchestra.

Zimbalist combines with his rare virtuosity a fine musical scholarship and taste. He was the first to introduce Glazounoff's "A Minor Concerto" to America, the first to play the music of the Norwegian, Tor Aulin, and the first to recognize the compositions of Albert Spalding.

In the shadow of these three giants stand a host of others—and nearly all Jews. There is Yehudi Menuhin—the child prodigy—who shook the musical world with his superb playing. Born in New York City on January 22, 1917, Yehudi is already recognized as one of the greatest modern geniuses of the violin. Following close behind are Eddy Brown, who stirred Indianapolis when he was six, and played the Mendelsohn Concerto at eleven; Sacha Jacobson, head of the violin department at the Institute of Musical Art in New York; David Mannes, founder of the Mannes School of Music; Mischa Mischakoff (Beckerman), first concertmaster of the Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra; Toscha Seidel, famous for his technical fluency and rare beauty of tone; Max Rosen; Alexander Bloch; Max Bendix; Sam Franko; Jacques Gordon, concertmaster of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra; Mischa Gusikoff, concertmaster of the New York Symphony Orchestra; Lea Luboschutz; Nicolas Moldaven, member of the Flonzaley Quartet; Ilya Scholnik, concertmaster of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra; Leon Samenti, violin head of the Chicago Music College; Helen Teschner Tas; and a score of others.

Among the greatest of the present day pianists in America Jews are in a preponderous majority. Chief among them are: Harold Bauer, who became a pianist because he could not

make a living with his violin; ¹ Ossip Gabrilowitch—poet of the pianoforte; Leopold Godowsky, famous pedagogue and composer; Ignace Friedman; Myra Hess, the most dynamic of women pianists; Vladimir Horowitz, undoubtedly the greatest of the younger pianists; Moritz Rosenthal, the technical wizard; Mischa Levitzky; Josef Lhevinne, the Rubenstein of America; and Leo Ornstein, the revolutionary genius. America has produced no greater pianists than these.

In the realm of the baton the Jew is preeminent. The Damrosches, Leopold, Frank, and the famous Walter—conductor of the New York Symphony Orchestra—sprang from Jewish stock. Ossip Gabrilowitsch, conductor of the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, was born in St. Petersburg of Jewish parents. Modest Altschuler, one of the pioneers of symphonic music in America and the founder and conductor of the Russian Symphony Orchestra, is a Jew. Jews, too, are Artur Bodansky, conductor of Wagnerian opera at the Metropolitan Opera House, and director of the New York Society of the Friends of Music; Louis Hasselmans, conductor of the French repertory at the Metropolitan Opera House; Serge Koussevitsky, master of the contra-bass and conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra; Giorgio Polacco, conductor of the Chicago Civic Opera; Fritz Reiner, the brilliant leader of the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra; Alexander Smallens, conductor and musical director of the Philadelphia Civic Opera Company; Vladimir Shavitch, conductor of the Syracuse Symphony Orchestra; Nicolai Sokoloff, founder of the Cleveland Symphony Orchestra; and Joseph A. Pasternack, conductor of the Philharmonic Society of Philadelphia.

In more recent years, with the development of the radio, the rise of movie palaces, and the growth of dance orchestras, Jews have become prominent as leaders in the musical activities of these organizations. Edwin Franko Goldman, organizer of the

¹ It is of Bauer that the story is told that when Debussy challenged him to play a chord composed of three notes, one of which was at the top of the piano, the second at the bottom, and the third in the middle, he struck the first two with his fingers, and the third with his nose.

"Symphony Orchestra in Brass," has led the Goldman Band through its paces since the summer of 1918; Nathaniel Finston directs the productions of the Publix chain of theaters; Alfred Goodman is general musical director of the Shubert theatrical enterprises; David Mendoza, a native New Yorker, conducts the symphony orchestra of the Capitol Theater in New York, and is one of the ablest musical producers for the screen; Hugo Riesenfeld, musical director of the Rialto and the Criterion Theaters in New York, has set the standard for movie orchestrations; Erno Rapee directs the orchestra at the Roxy Theater in New York—the largest movie palace in the world; Irvin Talbot is musical director of the Paramount Theater in New York; Nathaniel Shilkret is musical director of the Ever-Ready Hour, the Maxwell Hour, the Victor Hour, and the General Electric Hour. Paul Ash, the official discoverer of Rudy Wiedoeft, Ruth Etting, Helen Kane, Paul Whiteman, Ginger Rogers, Peggy Bernier, and Ben Bernie, who organized his first orchestra in 1921, are two of the topnotchers in the dance orchestra business.

Jews have done less as singers than as instrumentalists. Chief among the Jewish singers in America are Rosa Raisa, prima donna of the Chicago Civic Opera Company, and one of the great dramatic sopranos in the world; Sophie Braslau, one of the finest contraltos on the concert stage today; Ellen Dalossy, soprano, who turned down the Shuberts for Gatti-Casazza; Nanette Guilford, the "baby" of the Metropolitan; Alma Gluck (Mrs. Efrem Zimbalist), who has given up the concert stage for the care of her children; Arnold Gabor, baritone of the Metropolitan Opera Company; Alexander Kipnis, famous bass-baritone of the Chicago Civic Opera Company; Isa Kremer, the famous lieder singer; Hulda Lashanska, the brilliant soprano; Giacomina Rimini, eminent baritone of the Chicago Civic Opera Company (and husband of Rosa Raisa in private life); Marie Rappold; Oda Slobodskaya; Oscar Saenger; Lazar S. Samoiloff, concert baritone,

and one of America's best known pedagogues; and James Wolfe, basso of the Metropolitan.

Foremost among American-Jewish composers is Ernest Bloch, whose orientaliam has frequently caused his compositions to be regarded as essentially Hebraic. The depth and somberness of Bloch's compositions are strongly reminiscent of the brooding philosophy and the visionary pronouncements of the Old Testament and the ancient Hebrew prophets.

Ernest Bloch was born in Geneva, on July 24, 1870. As a youth, he studied under Jacques Dalcroze, Ysaye, and Ivan Knor. From 1911 to 1915 he lectured at the Conservatory in Geneva, and in 1916 came to teach composition at the Mannes School in New York. Four years later he was called to Cleveland, Ohio, as head of the newly organized Institute of Music; and in 1925 he gave up this post to accept the directorship of the San Francisco Conservatory of Music.

Ernest Bloch is one of the world's greatest composers. His chief works are "Vivre-Aimer," a Symphonic poem (1900); "Symphony in C sharp minor" (1901-1902); "Macbeth," an operatic drama (1904); "Hiver-Printemps," an orchestral poem (1904); "Poemes d'Automne," for voice and orchestra (1906); "Concerto Grosso," string orchestra and piano obligato (1924-25); "Israel," a symphonic composition (1913-16); Hebraic rhapsody "Schelemo" (1906); "Oriental" (1917); the opera "Jezebel" (1917); two "Psalmes" for soprano and orchestra, and one "Psalmes" for baritone. In 1928 his composition "America" was awarded a \$3,000 prize by "Musical America" as the best symphonic work composed by an American.²

Next to Bloch, although of lesser stature, are Rubin Goldmark and Mana Zucca. Rubin Goldmark, equally distinguished as a teacher and composer, is best known for his "Theme and Variations," an orchestral composition; the over-

² Bloch is now in Europe working on a musical liturgy for the synagogue. A fund of \$100,000 has been left of which he is to receive the income for ten years.

ture "Hiawatha"; the symphonic poem "Samson"; "Requiem," an orchestral composition; "Negro Rhapsody," first performed by the New York Philharmonic Orchestra; and numerous trios, quartets, piano and violin compositions, and songs.

Mana Zucca made her first public appearance at the age of four, playing a Beethoven concerto with the New York Symphony Orchestra at eight. She has written more than four hundred compositions, and is especially noted as a writer of children's songs.

We must pass hurriedly over the long list of names that ask to be mentioned. Aaron Copland, although a very young man, has already written a number of compositions which have been performed by the leading orchestras in the country. Frederick Jacobi, one of the founders of the American Music Guild, is best known for his symphonic legend "The Pied Piper"; a symphonic prelude, "The Eve of St. Agnes"; and the "Assyrian Symphony," composed for string quartet. Louis Gruenberg, one of the founders of the American League of Composers and a director of the International Composers Guild, won the Flagler prize of \$1,000 in 1921 for his symphonic work, "The Hill of Dreams." He has also written an opera, "The Bride of the Gods," and is the composer of "Daniel Jazz," an ultra modern composition for tenor and seven instruments. Bernard Rogers studied composition under Bloch and Goldmark, and is one of the most promising of the young modernists. His compositions include "Dirge," which won him the Pulitzer Travelling Scholarship; "Prelude" to "The Faithful"; "Adonais," a symphonic composition and numerous smaller works. Jacob Schaefer, in his youth a carpenter and cabinet-maker, is the composer of "The Two Brothers"; "Messiah Ben Joseph," an oratorio for orchestra, soprano solo, full chorus, and children's chorus; a cantata for string orchestra, soprano and baritone solo and mixed chorus; "The Twelve" for tenor, baritone solo, chorus and orchestra and other, lesser compositions.

Jews have played an extremely prominent part in the writing

of light opera and musical comedy. George Gershwin, the most talented of the younger modern writers, gained first recognition as a composer of note with his famous jazz opus, "Rhapsody in Blue." From his pen, too, have come a one-act negro opera, "135th Street"; a concerto for piano and orchestra; the scores of the operetta "Song of the Flame," and the musical comedies, "Tip-Toe," "Lady Be Good," "Oh Kay," "Strike Up the Band," "Funny Face," and "Girl Crazy." Sigmund Romberg, who left engineering to study harmony, is the modern Strauss and Lehar of America. His musical productions—by far the most popular in America—include the operettas, "Maytime," "Blossom Time," "My Maryland," "Princess Flavia," "The Desert Song," "The Student Prince," "Rosalie," and the scores to "Marjorie," "The Dream Girl," "Annie Dear," "Viennese Nights," and "Louis XVI." Rudolph Friml, who shares with Romberg the light opera throne of America, is responsible for "Katinka," "You're in Love," "The Blue Kitten," "Tumble Inn," "Vagabond King," and others. Jerome David Kern is the composer of "Have a Heart," "Oh Boy," "Stepping Stones," "Sunny," "City Boy," "Show Boat," and a score of popular song hits.

Among the writers of so-called "popular music" are Gus Edwards, composer of "School Days," "By the Light of the Silvery Moon," "Jimmy Valentine," "Morning, Noon, and Night," etc.; Gustav Gerson Kahn, who wrote "Your Eyes Have Told Me So," and "Buddy"; Charles Kissel Harris, composer of "After the Ball," "Break the News to Mother," "Hello Central Give Me Heaven," "Starlight, Roses, and You"; George William Meyer, best remembered for his song successes, "For Me and My Gal," "Tuck Me to Sleep in My Old Tucky Home," "Sitting in a Corner," "Tenn-Tenn-Tennessee," etc.; Irving Berlin, chief of American song writers, and the composer of hundreds of ballads and dance tunes; Charles Rosoff, composed of "Pardon Me," "Gingham Girl," "When You and I Were Seventeen," etc.; Abel Harris Baer, the prolific and successful composer of "Blue Hoosier Blues," "Mama Loves

Papa," "June Night," "I Miss My Swiss," "Lucky Lindy," etc.; Bud Green, composer of "Alabamy Bound," "I Love My Baby," etc.; Lew Pollack, whose successes include "Cheatin' on Me," "Charmaine," "Diane," etc.; Ned Miller, composer of "Why Should I Cry Over You?", "Crying For You," "Too Busy," etc.; and Jack Selig Yellen, composer of "Ain't She Sweet," "Lovin' Sam," "Mama Goes Where Papa Goes," "Dream Kisses," etc.

Clearly, then, the Jews have given to America her greatest violinists, her greatest pianists, her greatest conductors. Several of her greatest singers are Jews, and many of her greatest composers. The Jew has been a tremendous figure in the musical life of the country.

THE JEW IN PAINTING

Although Jews have distinguished themselves far less in oils than in music, not a few have achieved prominence in painting in America.

In the last quarter of the 19th century lived the Rosenthals, Mosler, Peixotto, Cohen, and Loeb. Max Rosenthal, the oldest of the group, remains one of the most skillful of American etchers. Born in Turek, Poland, in 1833, he came to America a boy of sixteen, and settled in Philadelphia. When the Civil War broke out he followed the Army of the Potomac as official illustrator for the U. S. Military Commission. More than five hundred portraits have come from his needle, many of which are preserved in the Smithsonian Institute at Washington.

Henry Mosler, one of the greatest of American genre painters, was born in New York City in 1841, and at ten was a student of art in Cincinnati. Later he went to Dusseldorf, where he continued his studies, and remained the greater part of his life in Europe. He received medals from the Royal Academy at Munich, the Paris Salon, and the Exposition Universelle, Paris. Among his chief works are: "The Return of

the Prodigal Son"—the first American picture to be purchased by the French Government; "Harvest Dance"; "The Wedding Gown"; "The Coming Storm"; etc.

Toby Edward Rosenthal was born in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1848, and as a young boy was taken to San Francisco. After outgrowing the art schools of the Pacific metropolis he went to Munich, where he attended the Royal Academy. His paintings attracted considerable attention and were exhibited in many of the leading galleries of Europe. His chief works include: "Love's Last Offering"; "Spring, Joy, and Sorrow"; "The Dancing Lesson"; "Elaine"; etc.

George D. M. Peixotto, eldest son of Benjamin Peixotto, was born in Cleveland in 1859, studied at the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Dresden, and was one of the leading mural and portrait painters of his day. Among those who sat for him were President McKinley, Cardinal Manning, John Hay, and Sir Moses Montefiore.

Born in the same year as Peixotto, in Philadelphia, Katherine M. Cohen, sculptor-painter, was equally at home in the two arts. Chief of her canvasses are "Rabbi Ben Ezra," and "L'Israelite"; while the portrait busts of Mayer Sulzberger and Lucien Moss are representative of her clays.

Louis Loeb, illustrator, etcher, and figure painter, was born in Cleveland, Ohio, in 1866, and studied under Gerome in Paris. His chief work, "Morning," won the Carnegie prize in 1905. Others of his works are "The Temple of the Winds," "The Breeze," "Blossoming," "The Siren," and "The Gift Shawl."

Chief among modern American Jewish painters are: Salcia Bahnc, a thorough expressionist, whose chief inspiration is drawn from Old Testament themes; Samuel Halpert (died 1930), one of the most able painters of the progressive group; Walkowitz,—modernist, proletariat, socialist,—famous for his park scenes; Theresa F. Bernstein, one of the best of the women painters in America; William Auerbach Levy, famous etcher and pedagogue; Max Weber, pupil of Henri Matisse;

Leo Mielziner, portrait painter, writer, and lecturer on art; Charles Kellner, formerly illustrator of the B'nai Brith Magazine; William Meyerowitz, frequent exhibitor in leading American galleries, and first prize winner at the National Academy of Design in 1912; Eugene Paul Ullman, represented in the French Government Collection, and in private galleries in the United States and Europe; George Davidson, the distinguished mural painter; Maurice Sterne, the chief and only successful painter-sculptor in America; Samuel Ostrowski, scenic artist of the Yiddish Art Theater; Emil Fuchs, painter-sculptor, represented in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Clive Museum, Brooklyn Museum, Library of Congress, etc.; Bernar Gussow; Aaron Henry Gorson; Leo Kober, staff artist of the New York World; Joseph Bernard Grossman; Louis Gerstenheim; Rosalind Abramson, portrait etcher; Elias Mandell Grossman; Victor David Hecht; Hugo Ballin (the movie producer), represented in many private collections, and winner of numerous prizes; Leon Kroll, the dynamic, idealistic interpreter of industrial civilization; Saul Berman; Jacob Binder, represented in the permanent collection of the Boston Fine Arts Museum; Alex Blum; Albert M. Canter; Maurice Braun; Helen Abrahams Blum, water-colorist; Max Webber; and Peter Krasnow.

THE JEW AS SCULPTOR

Moses Jacob Ezekiel, the chief Jewish artistic figure of the 19th century, and one of the great sculptors of modern times, was born in Richmond, Virginia, on October 28, 1844, and died in Rome, on the 27th of March, 1917. After graduating from the Virginia Military Academy, and getting a taste of war, Ezekiel decided to devote himself to the arts. His first endeavor—a painting—convinced him that the canvas was not his medium, and he turned to sculpture. In 1868 he moved to Cincinnati, but finding no art schools there, he left in the following year for Berlin, where he entered the Royal Academy

of Art. Here he remained for two years, producing during this time "The Sailor Boy," "Virginia Mourns Her Dead," and reliefs of "Goethe" and "Schiller." In 1872 he gained recognition with a colossal bust of "Washington," and in the following year won the Michaelbeer prize with his "Israel."

Ezekiel's first important work—a marble group representing "Religious Liberty"—was created during a visit to the United States in 1874, and was unveiled two years later in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. Upon his return to Rome, he began the series of eleven heroic statues, in Carrara marble, which stand in the niches of the Corcoran Gallery of Art, in Washington.

Among Ezekiel's other works are the portrait busts of Liszt, Cardinal Hohenlohe, Queen Margharita of Italy, and the Grand Duke of Saxony; the monument to Massarani, in the Jewish cemetery in Rome; the Fountain of Neptune, in Nettuno, Italy; the Jefferson Monument, in Lexington, Virginia; the statues of David, Hume, Beethoven, Portia, Queen Esther, and Edgar Allan Poe—his last work.

On his last visit to America, Ezekiel was commissioned to execute the Confederate Soldier's Monument, in Arlington Cemetery; and here, in his own tomb, among his old Confederate comrades, he now lies.

Chief among modern American sculptors are five Jews: Ephraim Keyser, Jo Davidson, Elie Nadelman, Maurice Sterne, and Isidore Konti. Keyser, born in Baltimore in 1850, is best known for his large public works, including the statue of Major General Baron DeKalb, at Annapolis, Maryland; the Memorial to the members of the Bar Association of Maryland who fell in the World War; the ten Memorials in the Baltimore Hebrew Cemetery and the design for the tomb of President Chester A. Arthur.

Jo Davidson, by far the greatest contemporary Jewish sculptor in America, was born in New York City, in 1883, of poor Russian-Jewish parents. At fifteen he was already hard at work earning his bread, and a year later, after winning a high school scholarship for drawing, he entered the Art

Students' League, supporting himself meanwhile by doing burnt wood drawings. In 1905 he received his first commission, and two years later, with passage paid and forty dollars in his pocket, he left for Paris.

During the next few years he travelled and worked, and in 1910, a year after his return to the United States, he gave his first American exhibit. During the War he was commissioned to make a series of bronze busts of the Allied military and political leaders, and on the day following the Armistice he sailed for Paris. The first of the group to sit for him was Marshal Foch, and in succession, General Pershing, Joffre, the King of Belgium, Lloyd George, Marshal Haig, Paderewski, Masaryk, Clemenceau, Col. House, Hon. Robert Lansing, and President Wilson.

Jo Davidson, together with Moses Ezekiel, Ernest Bloch, and that famous expatriate, Jacob Epstein, the sculptor, is one of the great creative artists American Jewry has given to the world. Crisp, nervous, virile, with a passionate feeling for line, Jo Davidson is the great "thinker in bronze," the great "poet in clay."

Maurice Sterne, born in Libau, Russia, in 1877, turned from etching and painting to sculpture, and it is here that he is achieving his greatest honors. His most significant work up to the present is his monument in memory to the first settlers of New England.

Isidore Konti is one of the most prominent of the decorative sculptors in America. His works include the groups for the Colonnade of the Dewey Arch, and the Temple of Music; "Cascade Fountains," St. Louis Exposition; Monument to Kit Carson and Lieutenant Beal, National Museum, Washington; "Dr. Morgan Dix," Trinity Church, New York; "Illusion"—purchased by the Italian government; "Genius of Immortality"; and "Orpheus."

Elie Nadelman was born in Warsaw in 1885, and came to the United States shortly after the war broke out. His art is austere, cold, melancholy, Hellenistic. Though lacking in vigor

and profundity, he is at all times a serious artist, creating pure beauty in clay.

Other American Jewish sculptors of note are Louis Rosenthal, the worker in miniature; Adolph Block; Albert Dreyfuss; Leon Kroll; Sal Raskin; Alexander Portnoff; Aaron J. Goodelman; Bashka Paeff; Samuel Klasstorer, winner of the Frank G. Logan Medal in 1922; Ber Coffet; Nessa Cohen; and Samuel Cashwan.

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE
JEWS IN JOURNALISM
THE YIDDISH PRESS

NEARLY two decades before the first Yiddish daily was established in Russia, the New York Jew read the Yiddishes Tageblatt—no doubt the oldest Yiddish daily in the world. This was in 1885, and Kasriel H. Sarasohn, a brainy Russian Jew, was its founder.

Yiddish journalism in America sprang from the loins of Die Judische Post and Die New Yorker Yiddishe Zeitung, both of them weeklies, and both published in 1872. The former was established by Dr. Henry Gersoni, and the latter by Sarasohn. Both the Post and the Zeitung failed to make a go of it. After a short run they shut up shop and suspended publication.

Sarasohn, however, was not the man to get discouraged. Two years later he brought out Die Yiddishe Gazetten, which proved a big success right from the start, and out of which, several years later, grew the Tageblatt—the first Yiddish daily in America.

The Tageblatt, or Jewish Daily News, was established in New York City in 1885. From the outset it was conservative in tone, sober in its policies, and served as the mouth-piece of Orthodox Jewry. During its independent existence of nearly forty-five years (it was taken over by the Morgen Journal in 1928) it was not published on Saturdays or holydays, and was read by the rabbis, the pious, the conservative portion of Jewry. It continued to publish its parent publication, Die Yiddishe Gazetten, which was issued once a week, and contained, along with a resume of the news of the preceding week, stories, poetry, and articles on politics, history, science, and education.

Yiddish journalism in America got its real start in the 80's

and 90's of the last century. If it were not for the May Laws and the anti-Jewish extravagances of those bloody years, Jewish journalism would probably have died in its cradle. As it was, the Russian pogroms put Yiddish journalism on its feet. During these hectic decades hundreds of thousands of Jews came to America, bringing with them talented writers, and a definite need for a Yiddish press. They were homesick, these immigrants; they did not know English; everything was new and fearful to them; they clung to each other; they wanted some explanation of the American scene about them; they wanted to know what was going on in their old homes; they wanted to know how other Jews were getting on; they wanted information on a thousand different topics, and the Yiddish press was started to give them this information.

During the last forty or fifty years nearly a score of Yiddish dailies have sprung up in New York alone. The supply, however, has far exceeded the demand. Most of them, created to meet a special need, perished by the way. Now only four remain in New York. These are the Vorwaerts, the Morgen Journal and Tageblatt, the Tog, and the Freiheit. The Vorwaerts is the largest of the four and the biggest money maker. Once the mouthpiece of labor, it is now only mildly socialistic. Most of its readers are found among workers and small business men who have recently graduated from the laboring class. The Morgen Journal and Tageblatt, now the second largest paper, is Republican in politics, orthodox, and Zionistic. The Morgen Journal was established in 1901 by Jacob Saphirstein, one of the leaders and pioneers of the Yiddish press in America, to supply the need of a morning paper and particularly a wanted medium for unemployed workers. It is the largest Yiddish morning paper in America, and carries more want-ads than any other Yiddish paper. It is also one of the newsiest of the four big dailies. The Freiheit is the organ of the Workers Party and Communists in America, and has captured most of the radical readers of the Vorwaerts. It is strongly anti-Zionistic, while the Vorwaerts is lukewarm on the matter. The two

papers wage a constant war against each other. The "Tog" was founded in 1914 by Herman Bernstein, and five years later absorbed the Warheit, which had been established in 1904. The Tog, or Day-Warheit, is liberal, Zionistic, and non-partisan in politics. On its staff, for some time, was Maurice Samuel, a fiery English Jewish writer, author of *You Gentiles*, and a number of Zionistic works.

The graveyard of Yiddish journalism is large. The Yiddishe Welt lasted two years; the Fihrer and the Haint paid off their editors the first year of publication; the Zeit went to press in December, 1920 and gave up in March, 1922; the Abend Blatt hung on for six years; the Tegliche Presse went out of business several months after it went in; the Yiddishe Abend Post persevered for sixteen years; the Tegliche Volks-Zeitung and the Kol Von Der Ghetto sold their presses the same year they bought them; the Amerikaner, the Morgen Blatt, and the Abend Zeitung failed to do even that well; while the Taeglicher Herold merged with the Warheit in 1905, and the Warheit with the Tog fourteen years later.

While New York has been the cradle of Yiddish journalism in America, dailies have sprung up in other cities of large Jewish population. Chicago gave birth to the Taeglicher Juedischer Courier in 1887, and the Taeglicher Yiddisher Kol three years later. Samuel Rocker of Cleveland founded the Yiddisher Welt in 1908; and in 1914 Jacob Ginsburg started the Yiddishe Welt in Philadelphia. The Jewish Guardian, a Yiddish and English daily, was established in Cleveland in 1920.

The earliest of the Yiddish papers were German rather than Yiddish in tone. The Eastern-European Jew had not made himself felt yet; Yiddish was an orphan, wanted neither by the German Jews nor the Russian intellectuals. But thanks to Karl Marx and his doctrines, Yiddish survived the high disdain of gymnasium students and came to its own in the new world. Socialist leaders realized to their chagrin that the great mass of immigrant Jews could not be appealed to in Russian or over-Germanized Yiddish, but in plain mother tongue. When

Ab. Cahan suggested Yiddish as the medium for educating these Russian-Jewish refugees he was laughed down. That was nearly fifty years ago, on a July day, in the Golden Rule Hall on Rivington Street. But he finally got his way, and at one stroke Yiddish journalism and Socialism came to life in America.

The Socialistic influence goes back to the very beginnings of Yiddish journalism in America. In 1886 the Jewish Workmen's Society started the New York Volkszeitung. It lasted about three years. Although dedicated to the workingmen, it was, like all similar papers of the time, far above their heads. In the same year, Ab. Cahan, the most gifted Yiddish pen in America, and his friend Dr. Rayersky, put their heads and money together, and brought out the Neue Zeit. After four issues it gave up the ghost.

In 1890 the United Hebrew Trades established the Arbeiter Zeitung. Profiting by the experience of the New York Volkszeitung, it made its reading matter very elementary. As the editor put it, the food was "chewed over as for a baby." The paper improved with age, reflecting a parallel improvement in reader-intelligence. Not to be outdone by the energetic Socialist party, the Anarchists brought out the Freie Arbeiter Stimme, a highly sophisticated paper intended for the Yiddish intelligentsia.

It was not until 1894 that the first Socialist daily—Das Abendblatt—was established. Really an outgrowth of the Arbeiter Zeitung, this paper led ultimately in 1897 to the establishment of the Vorwaerts. The need for a periodical was especially great among the workers. They were being exploited and disharmony prevailed in their ranks. In response to this need of the workers for an organ to express their wishes, their aims, their desires, arose the greatest figure in American Yiddish journalism. This figure was Abraham Cahan, a young immigrant from Lithuania, who came to America in the first tide of Russian-Jewish immigration and who for the past half century has been one of the great leaders in American Jewry.

Adviser and counselor to the workers, sponsor of the needle trades unions, this man, together with Morris Hillquit and a few other choice spirits, built up the largest Yiddish paper, the largest socialist daily, the leading labor paper in the United States. Cahan left the Vorwaerts for a short interval to go into English journalism, where he also made his mark as a writer and a keen reporter; but he returned to his first love, and utilizing his knowledge of American journalism, he enlivened the Vorwaerts, introduced the headline, employed American make-up, built the paper up into a huge success.

When Cahan took over the Vorwaerts things looked dark for it. Its circulation was barely 6,000, its columns were filled with abstract economic controversy, its language was over-intellectualized, over-Germanized, over the heads of the average Yiddish reader. Cahan immediately changed all this. He put the blue pencil through all the long abstract essays on economics and the class struggle, and substituted for them interesting little stories of the sweatshop. He made things graphic. He mirrored the east side as it was. He put warmth into the paper, discussed everyday problems, gave advice to the lovelorn. Most important of all, he simplified the language. He introduced phonetic spelling, used the language of the east side, the language as it was spoken in the markets, on the stoops, in the tenements. "The first thing that I realized," said Cahan in an interview, "was that the Vorwaerts could not reach the masses because it was using a language they did not understand, a kind of highbrow Yiddish with a lot of Hebrew and German and Russian terms that only the educated man could understand. Yiddish is a language of market women—the imported words are just like Latin and Greek. Of course, it is difficult to express Marxian doctrines in simple terms, but what was the use of saying 'proletariat' and 'bourgeoisie,' when you could simply say the 'worker' or 'the wealthy classes.'"

"The first thing that I insisted on was that everything in the paper should be written in what I called Yiddish-Yiddish. That

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meant not only cutting out the unfamiliar German, Russian, and Hebrew words, but using all the American words that every Jew in London or New York knows. I can never understand why Yiddish writers refuse to use the American words, as some of them do. . . .

"I am not a nationalist. I don't care about Hebrew words; I don't even care about Yiddish words. I would just as soon use English if everyone could understand. . . ."

The Yiddish press was one of the greatest means of Americanizing the immigrant. The Vorwaerts, for instance, ran lessons in English and printed articles on American history, on American biography, and on the general American scene. Immigrants were urged to go to night school, to become citizens. The political system of the United States was explained to them so that they could comprehend it. Editorials were concerned with problems of good citizenship, proper voting, naturalization, party affiliation, etc. The tone and subject matter of these editorials may be illustrated by one or two examples:

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ELECTION DAY

"When the founders of this Republic established the annual elections, they believed that this custom would achieve wonders. They thought that it would put an end to all bitter struggles among the citizens; that it would render unnecessary a bloody revolution, like the one which they had experienced; that it would end forever oppression and injustice, against which they had fought so bitterly. For election day will make it possible for the citizen to abolish every evil which oppresses, calmly, quietly, without shedding a drop of blood, without firing one shot. The greatest revolutions, the most fundamental changes would be effected by means of the elections. . . ." (Vorwaerts, Nov. 3, 1914.)

HELP YOUR MEMBERS BECOME CITIZENS

“. . . Let every organization urge its members to become citizens. . . .

“The Carpenters’ Union does not admit new members who do not have their first papers. Other organizations should follow this example. . . .

“At every business meeting the members should be asked who are not citizens. Those who have not yet taken out their citizen papers should be immediately referred to the committee on naturalization.” (Vorwaerts, Nov. 11, 1914.)

BECOME CITIZENS

“It is always in place to remind our Jews that they should become citizens of our country, but on the Fourth of July, the festival of freedom and independence of the American people, we want to especially remind our brethren, who have chosen America as their new home, that they should not remain strangers in the new land to which they have migrated, that they should become citizens thereof.

“The cry, ‘Become citizens,’ has never been as urgent as it is today. An immigrant Jew has never had such an opportunity to convince himself of the necessity and value of American citizenship as at the present time. The war has helped to convince him, and if he has neglected hitherto to take out his citizenship papers, he is committing a crime against himself if he fails to do so now.

“On the 4th of July, the festival which the American people celebrate to commemorate the achievement of their freedom, their rights as citizens and independence, we say to you—become citizens of the land that makes it possible for you to enjoy her freedom and her rights, in

which you have found a new home. Become citizens."
(Tog, July 4, 1915.)

Modern Jewish unionism could not have been possible without the help of the Vorwaerts and the sympathy of the other Jewish papers. No class of workers has been as fortunate as the Jewish workers in the support it has received from the press. Day after day, year after year, the Vorwaerts hammered away at the idea of workers' unions. It led the fight for higher wages, for better working conditions, for the abolition of the slum and sweatshop. Even such matters as sanitation and cleanliness, both at home and in the shop, were taught in the columns of the Yiddish papers.

The Yiddish press has easily been the greatest educational and cultural force in American Jewry. It has not only been a disseminator of news, but a text-book of politics, economics, art, literature, music, history, geography, and popular science. The Russian Jewish immigrant was eager for news from home, but equally eager to learn of far away places, of strange peoples and their modes of life, of new inventions, new ideas, new discoveries. All this the Yiddish press gave him: stories, sketches, poetry, labor propaganda, Zionist propaganda, and entertaining articles on all sorts of subjects imaginable.

The Yiddish press has at one time or another recruited the services of the finest Yiddish literary talent in America. Many of Peretz's finest stories and sketches appeared in the Zukunft and Arbeiter Zeitung; Yehoash's translation of the Bible into Yiddish ran in the Tog for many months; and Sholom Aleichem's short stories were first published in the Yiddish papers. Among the leading of the present day Yiddish journalists are Gedalia Bublick, formerly of the Tageblatt; William Edlin and Samuel Margoshes, of the Tog; M. Olgin, of the Freiheit; and J. Fischman, of the Morgen Journal.

Yiddish journalism has kept stride with immigration. In 1887, at the beginning of the Russian-Jewish exodus, America boasted of one Yiddish newspaper (Sarasohn's Tageblatt) with a circulation of 3,750. In 1895 there were two newspapers

with a combined circulation of 16,000 (Tageblatt 13,400, The Jewish Herald about 2,600). In the next five years three papers were added (Vorwaerts, Abend Post, and Morgen Journal), and the combined circulation jumped to 62,000. Jews kept coming and printer's ink flew. In 1905 the presses were turning out 190,000 papers a day. Five years later the combined circulation of the Vorwaerts, Morgen Journal, Warheit, and Tageblatt was 336,000; and in 1915, the figure leaped to 525,690. In that year the Yiddish press made more money than any other foreign press. Then came the restrictions upon immigration, and circulation steadily decreased.

Besides these dailies, there are a number of Yiddish weeklies and monthlies, including the Zukunft, the Freie Arbeiter Stimme, Die Feder, Far'n Folk, Jewish Musical World and Theatrical Magazine, Kinder Journal, Oifkum, Yiddisher Arbeiter Stimme, Yiddisher Amerikaner Familien Magazine und Gazette, Die Voch, and Der Vecker. Hebrew publications include Shevilei Hahinuch, a monthly; Hadoar, a weekly; Hanoar and Ha Pardes, monthlies; and Horofeh Haibri, published semi-annually. There is also a Ladino, or Spanish Jewish, weekly published in New York—La Vara.

The future of Jewish journalism in America is not easy to predict. Its heyday is clearly over. There are visible signs, indeed, that it has passed its zenith. Plainly, three factors were responsible for the rise of the Yiddish press in America: immigration, the birth and growth of Jewish labor agitation, the Russian-Polish pogroms. The first brought into America a million and a half Jews who could speak and read only Yiddish; the second created a demand for a specialized medium of expression and education; the third contributed to the feeling of nationalism and race consciousness and the urgent need for news from abroad. All three combined to make inevitable and necessary the Yiddish daily.

During the last decade, however, certain factors have tended to disturb this *status quo*. First of all, immigration has been checked; second, the labor question has lost its edge; third,

pogroms have been on the decline in Eastern Europe. The late war stimulated an intense interest in European-Jewish affairs, and circulation figures mounted. But with the signing of the armistice, circulation figures promptly dropped.

With severe restrictions on immigration, the Yiddish press is serving a portion of Jewry that is getting smaller with the years. Growth is impossible without new blood; and the old blood is dying out. Besides, Yiddish is losing its importance as a medium of expression. Ninety percent of the more than three million Jews in America can get along without Yiddish. And the percentage is getting larger every year. With Yiddish slipping, with education and Americanization taking strides in its seven league boots, with immigration checked, the prognosis is bad. In a few years the Yiddish press will have reached its fiftieth year. One wonders whether it will see another fifty.

JEWS IN AMERICAN JOURNALISM

Among the many charges made by anti-semites is that Jews control American journalism. While this is in no sense true, Jews have played, and are playing, an increasing role in molding American public opinion through the medium of newspapers and the periodical press.

Easily the best known paper in the United States, and probably the newsiest is the New York Times, published by Adolph Ochs, a Jew. Mr. Ochs, who is a son-in-law of Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, was born in Chattanooga in 1858. He became early a printer's devil, and at the age of twenty he was already publisher of the Chattanooga Times, which he stills owns, and which he built up until it is today one of the best papers in the South. A few years later he came to New York and bought the Times, which had decayed considerably and had a circulation of only 9,000 and a daily deficit of \$1,000. In the short space of twenty-five years he converted it into one of the most influential and prosperous papers in the country.

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York World before its demise.¹ Charles Michelson, brother of the physicist, is one of the leading political writers in America, and publicity director of the National Democratic Committee. Isaac Marcossion is another prominent political writer. Other well known Jewish writers in the American press are Fabian Franklin, formerly of the Baltimore News; Jack Lait, short story writer; Benjamin DeCasseres, essayist; Gilbert Seldes, former managing editor of the Dial, and one of the finest of American foreign correspondents; Louis Fischer, another noted foreign correspondent, specialist in Russian affairs; Maurice Hindus, who has written the best book on Russia thus far; George Seldes, brother of Gilbert; Eugene Lyons, United Press correspondent in Russia; Herman Bernstein, who has made his mark both in Yiddish and English journalism; Isaac Don Levine, former news expert; Winifred Black, leading writer on feminine subjects; Dorothy Parker; Mark Hellinger, one of the best known columnists in America; Milt Gross; Samuel Hoffenstein; Arthur Guiterman; Newman Levy; Louis Sobel; Morris Ryskind; S. J. Kaufman; Franklin P. Adams; Bertram Block; Octavus Roy Cohen; Walt Kuhn; Walter Winchell, and Montague Glass. All are Jews.

Hearst has been decidedly partial to Jews in the management of his vast chain of dailies and magazines. Leon Carvalho has long been chief executive of the Hearst publications while the Blacks manage his Chicago papers.

It is curious that the Jewish publishers of American papers are, practically all of them, conservative in policy. For some reason they have neglected or refused to use their papers to aid their race in any way. In fact, they have fallen over backwards in order to avoid any possible imputation that they were furthering Judaism. They have nearly all been silent on Jewish problems, and have taken no part in Jewish affairs.

¹ Lippman is at present with the New York Herald Tribune.

ENGLISH-JEWISH JOURNALISM

The American-Jewish press dates from the 40's of the last century and is nearing its centenary. It is therefore nearly twice as old as the Yiddish press in this country, and traces its origin to the German Jewish invasion, rather than the Eastern European.

Oldest of the English-Jewish periodicals still in existence is the American Israelite, of Cincinnati, founded by Isaac M. Wise, in 1854, and still serving as the official publication of Reform Judaism. Among the older and more important national weekly publications are the American Hebrew, of New York City, founded in 1879; the Jewish Tribune, founded in Portland, Oregon in 1902, and later transferred to New York; and the Reform Advocate, of Chicago, founded in 1890. These national weeklies contain articles on general Jewish topics, often by leading Jewish writers, and are addressed in the main to the younger and more Americanized element of Jewry. While their circulation is seldom very high, their influence is great. The Jewish Tribune, especially, has been particularly influential and enterprising, due, in great part, to its publisher, Nehemiah Mosessohn, and its former editor, Herman Bernstein. (Since this writing the Jewish Tribune has suspended publication.)

Of the English Jewish monthlies, the Menorah Journal, published by the Menorah Association, is by far the best, and easily comparable to the finest periodicals in the country. Other monthlies include the Reflex,² published in Chicago, and edited by Dr. Melamed, a noted Yiddish-English journalist; the Jewish Forum, founded in 1918, and conservative in tone; the Jewish Farmer, published in Yiddish and English; and the B'nai Brith Magazine. The latter is one of the finest maga-

² The Reflex started out to be a sort of Jewish Mercury, debunking American Jewish life in general. Of late, it has had tough sledding, and faces extinction.

zines published by any order in the United States, and its circulation is the largest of any English Jewish periodical in the country, reaching, as it does, practically every member of the B'nai Brith.⁸ For many, indeed, it is the only Jewish periodical.

Besides these leading weekly and monthly publications there is the New Palestine, the National Zionist organ, a bi-weekly; the Young Judean, intended for youthful Zionists in the bud; and the American Jewish Quarterly, a learned journal, full of rare Jewish lore, and published by the faculty of Dropsie College.

By 1930 there were 82 English-Jewish publications in the United States. Not a community with 10,000 or more Jews was without some Jewish English periodical, usually of local character. Most of these periodicals were weeklies, only one—The Jewish Daily Bulletin—being a daily.

The Jewish Daily Bulletin has the distinction of being the smallest daily in America. Coincident and synonymous with it is the Jewish Telegraph Agency, which is to Jewish journalism what the Associated and the United Press are to American journalism. The Jewish Telegraph Agency has a world wide organization with correspondents in practically every important Jewish center in the world. By cable, telegraph, and mail it gathers news of Jewish interest, and serves not only the English-Jewish press, which it provides with brief excerpts of Jewish news during the week, but also the Yiddish papers, and scores of American and foreign newspapers. Founded in 1924, the *Jewish Daily Bulletin* has at present a circulation of more than 6,000. It is an important newspaper, and a decidedly unifying agency for world Jewry.

An interesting, but not very important, offshoot of the English-Jewish press is the local weekly, found in almost every Jewish community of any size. It is, in most cases, little more than a gossip sheet, containing a few items of national and

⁸ The B'nai Brith publishes also a weekly, called the B'nai Brith Messenger.

world Jewish news, some shallow editorials, an article or two of local Jewish interest, and for the rest, numerous announcements of engagements, weddings, parties, births, holiday activities, and general local gossip. Their standards are low; they are poorly edited; their contents are trivial. Many are just advertising organs, with very little influence in their communities. Although meant to appeal to the younger American born generation, the more mature minded of Jewish youth fights shy of them, while the older generation does not even attempt to read them. Here and there, of course, a publication lifts its head above the rut; but really little can be expected of them, for the writers and editors of these weeklies are underpaid, and the young Jew contemplating journalism rarely cares to limit himself to this field, but seeks wider pastures in American journalism.

These local Jewish weeklies are recent phenomena, the great majority of them having been started within the last two decades. It may be that as they become older they will become more mature and drop their juvenilism and triviality. Many of these publications were started by rabbis in connection with their temples, and some still bear the stamp of their origin in their dullness.

American-Jewish journalism has had a difficult time of it. A sort of hybrid product at best, it has had no really outstanding leaders, and has failed as yet to grip a significant portion of American Jewry and create a large following. The older Jewish reading public looks askance at these parvenu publications, while the younger English speaking generation prefers to buy American papers and periodicals, and does not care enough for Jewish subjects to read an English-Jewish paper. Of course there are exceptions, and the future may be somewhat brighter; but as it looks now their existence is precarious, and their prospects poor.

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

A RETROSPECT AND A SUMMARY

STATISTICS

By the year 1931 there were more than 4,250,000 Jews in the United States, forming one of the largest racial entities in the polyglot American scene. It was indeed a far cry from that day in the fall of 1654 when 23 refugees found a haven in the city of New Amsterdam, and formed the nucleus for the largest Jewish community in the history of Judaism.

In no single country—if we except the ancestral home in Palestine—had the Jews grown so mightily, flourished so well, attained such security, such power, and such wealth as in the United States. Unprecedented in human history was this transmigration of a race from medieval Eastern Europe to the most modern of the industrial lands of the western world—the United States. And this transmigration, this epoch-making transplanting of the roots of a race, occurred in the short space of fifty years.

The Jews have spread all over the land. They inhabit every state in the union. They are a force in every large city in America. Not a fair sized town in the United States is without a number of them. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Canada to the Gulf, Jews have built their Temples, made their homes, taken root.

New York State, with almost 2,000,000 Jews, accounts for more than 40% of the total population in the United States. The 23 Jews of New Amsterdam have grown to 1,765,000. Pennsylvania with about 405,000 Jews is second to New York State. Illinois is a close third with about 350,000 Jews. Massachusetts and New Jersey run neck to neck with approximately 226,000 each. In the Middle West, the states next

highest to Illinois, are Ohio, with about 175,000 Jews; Michigan, with about 90,000; Minnesota, with approximately 45,000; Wisconsin, with nearly 37,000; and Indiana, with about 28,000. Virginia, in the south, is first with about 26,000 Jews; Georgia is second with about 24,000; and following on the heels of Georgia are Tennessee with 23,000, Kentucky with 20,000, Florida with nearly 14,000, and Alabama with 13,000. The West is represented by California with about 130,000; Texas with 47,000; Colorado with 21,000; Nebraska and Washington with about 15,000 each; Oregon with 14,000; and Oklahoma with about 8,000.¹

¹ The Jews of the United States, by States, in 1927 (American Jewish Year Book, Vol. 32):

State	Total 1930	Jews 1927	% of Jews 1927	Distribu- tion of Jews
Alabama	2,644,477	12,801	0.50	.30
Arizona	421,641	1,455	0.32	.03
Arkansas	1,853,981	8,850	0.46	.21
California	5,642,282	123,284	2.78	2.91
Colorado	1,033,156	20,321	1.89	.48
Connecticut	1,602,236	91,538	5.59	2.16
Delaware	236,858*	5,310	2.18	.12
District of Columbia....	552,000	16,000	2.96	.38
Florida	1,465,969	13,402	0.98	.32
Georgia	2,902,127	23,179	0.73	.55
Idaho	437,440	1,141	0.21	.03
Illinois	7,630,283	345,980	4.74	8.18
Indiana	3,225,418	27,244	0.86	.64
Iowa	2,467,900	16,404	0.68	.39
Kansas	1,822,518	7,792	0.59	.18
Kentucky	2,603,031	19,533	0.77	.46
Louisiana	2,098,876	16,432	0.85	.39
Maine	799,662	8,480	1.07	.20
Maryland	1,625,279	70,871	4.44	1.67
Massachusetts	4,354,972	225,634	5.32	5.33
Michigan	4,818,371	89,462	1.99	2.11
Minnesota	2,558,265	43,197	1.61	1.02
Mississippi	2,007,743	6,420	0.36	.15
Missouri	3,619,176	80,687	2.30	1.91
Montana	533,519	1,578	0.22	0.37
Nebraska	1,386,679	14,209	1.02	.33

American Jewry has established itself mainly in the north-eastern states, and in several of the more industrial of the mid-western states. The Jew is attracted to business, to commerce, to big cities. He likes the tumult of life, traffic, people. He feels more secure in the crowd, where he is less likely to be noticed, to be told apart from the rest. Jews are thickest where business and money and enterprise are thickest: in New York, in Chicago, in Philadelphia, in the bustling towns and cities of New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts. New York City, the cradle of American Jewry, contains the largest community of Jews in the United States. Chicago is second, Philadelphia third, Boston fourth, Cleveland fifth, Detroit sixth,

State	Total 1930	Jews 1927	% of Jews 1927	Distribu- tion of Jews
Nevada	90,559	264	0.34	.01
New Hampshire	463,746	2,779	0.61	.06
New Jersey	3,821,000*	225,306	6.01	5.33
New Mexico	418,932	1,052	0.27	.02
New York	12,609,555	1,903,890	16.67	45.03
North Carolina	3,165,146	8,252	0.28	.20
North Dakota	681,273	2,749	0.43	.06
Ohio	6,629,373	173,976	2.59	4.11
Oklahoma	2,388,955	7,823	0.33	.18
Oregon	951,790	13,075	1.47	.31
Pennsylvania	9,854,000*	404,979	4.16	9.58
Rhode Island	687,020	25,003	3.56	.60
South Carolina	1,732,271	6,851	0.37	.16
South Dakota	691,008	1,584	0.23	.03
Tennessee	2,609,637	22,532	0.91	.53
Texas	5,810,683	46,648	0.86	1.01
Utah	502,640	2,857	0.55	.06
Vermont	359,092	2,036	0.58	.05
Virginia	2,418,075	25,656	1.01	.60
Washington	1,557,540	14,698	0.94	.35
West Virginia	1,728,510	7,471	0.44	.17
Wisconsin	3,000,388	35,935	1.23	.85
Wyoming	224,693	1,319	0.55	.03
Total	122,000,000	4,228,029	3.58	100.00

* 1927.

Baltimore seventh, Los Angeles and Newark eighth, Pittsburgh ninth, and St. Louis tenth. These eleven cities contain 2,871,000 Jews, or 67% of the total.²

² List of cities in the United States having 10,000 Jews or more (1927), from the American Jewish Year Book, Vol. 32:

City	Total Population (1930)	Jews (1927)
Atlanta, Ga.	353,722	12,000
Atlantic City	65,748	12,160
Baltimore	789,921	68,000
Bayonne	85,822	12,150
Boston	783,451	90,000
Bridgeport	147,206	13,000
Buffalo	572,217	20,000
Chelsea, Mass.	44,827	20,000
Chicago	3,377,753	325,000
Cincinnati	499,331	23,500
Cleveland	901,482	85,000
Denver	287,644	17,000
Detroit	1,564,397	75,000
Hartford	161,224	27,000
Houston	280,438	12,000
Indianapolis	362,527	10,000
Jersey City	316,914	18,000
Kansas City	392,640	22,000
Los Angeles	1,231,730	65,000
Louisville	307,808	12,500
Malden	58,438	12,500
Memphis	282,049	10,000
Milwaukee	568,962	25,000
Minneapolis	462,611	22,000
Mount Vernon	60,869	10,000
New Haven	162,650	22,500
New York	6,933,046	1,765,000
Newark	439,506	65,000
Omaha	214,175	11,000
Paterson	138,267	22,300
Philadelphia	2,035,900	270,000
Pittsburgh	644,795	53,000
Portland	299,122	11,000
Providence	251,029	21,000
Rochester	325,019	33,000
St. Louis	817,334	50,000
St. Paul	270,883	13,500
San Francisco	625,974	35,000
Seattle	363,134	12,000
Springfield, Mass.	149,861	12,100
Syracuse	207,007	14,000
Toledo	290,787	12,000
Trenton	122,610	11,000
Washington, D. C.	485,716	16,000
Worcester, Mass.	196,395	13,000

Although Jews are in the great majority settlers of big cities, 80,000 till the soil and own a million acres of land. Indeed, some of the outstanding agriculturists in America have been Jews. David Lubin, the greatest American-Jewish agriculturist, was born in Poland in 1849, and came to America with his parents in 1855. He went to California at twenty-five and built up a good retail business. While there he became acquainted with the marketing problems of the farmer. In the interests of the latter he founded the International Institute of Agriculture and became the first great leader of cooperative marketing. His disciple is Aaron Sapiro, the greatest leader of cooperatives in America. Another great Jewish agriculturist is Joseph Rosen, who for many years has been the leader in settling Russian Jews on the land.

THE CHANGING JEW

The year 1931 marks the 50th anniversary of the Jewish exodus from Russia and Poland and the great waves of immigration into the United States. In 1881, as we have seen, the Jewish inhabitants in the United States, numbered no more than 250,000. Spiritually, the Jewish community in America was poverty stricken. Its sole contribution had been the radical reform movement and even this had been imported along with rabbis and leaders of the movement from Germany. Reform Judaism ruled the roost. Intermarriage was frequent, old Jewish families were gradually dying out or becoming absorbed among other races. Despite the leadership and work of Leeser, orthodoxy here languished. It was like an exotic plant which withered in the sceptical atmosphere, neglected and shoved aside in the hurry and rush for economic security. The host of Jewish leaders who were to lead American Jewry to the forefront of their race had not yet arisen. Rabbi Isaac M. Wise and the other reform chieftains were all imported products. Simon Wolf was then the constituted representative of the Jews

in Washington. Oscar Straus was entering upon his political career, which was to make him one of the outstanding Jewish political leaders. There were other prominent Jews, but these were rarely active in Jewish affairs. Jacob H. Schiff was an outstanding exception, but his main activities come at a much later time—in the first two decades of the 20th century. The same with Nathan Straus. Michael Heilprin was then the only “Jewish Jew” of prominence. He was one of the precursors of the Russian-Jewish immigration and the leading representative of Eastern European Jewry in the period of the early immigration. He and his family foreshadowed what the Eastern European Jews were to contribute to America. Another outstanding Jewish leader of this time was Lewis Dembitz, of Louisville, Kentucky—an Hebraist, author, and religious authority.

Economic security the older German Jewish immigrants had by this time practically attained. They had also taken over the leadership of the Jewish community from the handful of Spanish-Portuguese Jewish descendants. It was a period of great Jewish activity in the economic life of the country. The Guggenheims were developing the copper industry; the Strauses and numerous others were founding huge department stores. The needle industry was emerging from its swaddling clothes, thanks to the tender ministrations of the Jews. Jacob Schiff and his firm of Kuhn, Loeb and Company were aiding in the financing of gigantic railroads. The germ of the huge mail order business, which transformed rural America, was turning and squirming in the brain of Julius Rosenwald of Illinois.

At the beginning of the year 1881, the Jewish community in America was practically in the same situation as the Jewish community in Canada is now. Poland and Russia were the great centers of Judaism. America was a “Godless land” in the eyes of the mass of orthodox Jewry throughout Europe. Its voice in world affairs was halting and almost inaudible, except on a few occasions. Its power to shape Jewish destiny was almost negligible. No one could have forecast the changes

that would occur in half a century, when this new and strange land, this Godless country, would become the center of Judaism, the land towards which world Jewry would look for succor and aid, for leadership and guidance, for its very life indeed, while Russia and Poland would become second rate and decaying centers of Judaism.

For this amazing phenomenon in Jewish history we have mainly the Russian, Polish, Galician, Rumanian, and Hungarian Jews to thank. They found this land a spiritual wilderness and converted it into a garden where Judaism flourished as never before, and made of it probably the last and greatest bulwark and reservoir of Judaism in the world.

The Eastern European Jew through centuries of isolation in the ghetto, through hundreds of years of poring over the Talmud, of studying the Torah, had built up a spiritual reserve, which, bringing with him to America, swept over Reform Judaism, blasting the dreams of the Reform for complete dominance in the American scene, and making the United States the center of world Jewry. The force of Eastern European Jewry, pent up for so many centuries, pushed them in a few years to the forefront of their race in this country. The Eastern European Jew had learned to suffer, how to get along with very little. He had learned the wisdom of being patient, of bowing temporarily to a stronger force. He had learned to use his wits—having had to live by them—to observe sharply and closely everything around him, to seemingly acquiesce while biding his time. He had learned the value of spiritual power, of ideals strongly held. He had dreamed many and mighty dreams while sitting on the hard benches of the Beth Midrashim in the dark ghettos. When he came to this country he began to put his dreams into shape. When forced by necessity to become a workman, a manual laborer, he succeeded in a few years in evolving the most successful form of unionism this country has ever seen—and in an industry famous for its sweatshops and its terrible conditions. He took the needle industry from the grasp of the German Jews,

and made America the best dressed country in the world. He entered the theater and made the American stage famous throughout the world. In literature, in music, in painting and sculpture, he stepped to the forefront.

Besides having to build for his own economic security, he found the means to bring over his relatives and friends by the hundreds of thousands. He found time to put Zionism on a practical basis, to build schools, temples, synagogues, to create a Yiddish press, a Yiddish theater, a complex Yiddish life.

A few years have wrought marvelous changes. American Jewry—overwhelmingly Eastern European in descent—is rapidly acquiring, and in many cases has already acquired, an American consciousness. Even in physical appearance American Jews are becoming more and more like their Gentile neighbors, so that often—especially in the south and west—a Jew is practically indistinguishable from his Christian confrère.

Gone is the ghetto stoop—the stoop that has been the mark of Jews for hundreds of years. Gone is that cringe, that servile attitude which has characterized always the Jew living in an hostile environment. The haunting fear in his eyes which told of the millenniums of persecution he had lived through, has disappeared in the clear American atmosphere. He has become bold, assertive, over-assertive sometimes in compensation for his inferiority complex. He has become taller, stronger, straighter than his old world father. He is less emotional, more calm; less religious, more practical. His movements are freer. He has cast off, in part, the chains of the centuries.

INSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT

American Jewry is famed for the organizations it has created and developed. The Jew is a joiner. He likes to congregate, to get together with his fellows, to talk things over. Although an intense individualist, he is also very social. A

total of 120 national Jewish organizations are listed in the American Jewish Yearbook of 1930. Of these 15 are religious in nature, 16 are educational, 15 philanthropic, 14 are fraternal lodges, 10 are Zionist organizations, 29 are college fraternities and sororities, 4 are landsmanschaften, 3 are labor organizations, 2 are for the purpose of guarding Jewish rights, and 12 are miscellaneous organizations.

There are estimated to be about 3,000 Jewish congregations in the United States, with a membership of 400,000. Thirteen hundred rabbis serve these 3,000 congregations, and the total annual budget of the congregations is said to be more than \$30,000,000, while the value of their buildings is set at \$200,000,000.

The synagogues can be divided into three groups—the Reform, the Conservative, and the Orthodox. In the Reform synagogues the language of prayer is English, the rabbi is usually a graduate of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, a mixed choir and an organ are adjuncts to the service, which consists usually of a few brief prayers and a long sermon on some topic of general interest. Men and women worshipers sit together—the men with bared heads; the rabbi faces the congregation; and the congregation members are in the main descendants of German Jews, or the children of Eastern European Jews who have attained a fair measure of social and economic security. Only the first days of the Jewish holidays are observed, and services are held on Sunday as well as Saturday.

The Conservative synagogue occupies a middle ground between the Reform temple and the Orthodox house of worship. Here, while the major part of the services is in Hebrew, some English is used as a concession to the younger generation. The rabbi is increasingly of American origin and is usually a graduate of an American theological seminary, preferably the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. He speaks English fluently, and is thoroughly American in his ways. A sermon is one of the features of the service, while a cantor,

sometimes assisted by a choir, adds to the grace of the service. There is more decorum and dignity here than in the Orthodox synagogues and the members are, for the most part, staid, middle class business men who have been in this country a good many years, or second-generation men.

The Orthodox division tries to keep unadulterated the species of Judaism evolved in Poland, Lithuania, or the Ukraine. Orthodoxy is the largest branch of American Jewry, due to the Russian-Jewish influx. The services in the Orthodox synagogue are extremely long, and are intoned in Hebrew. Up until recently the rabbi has been an imported product, usually from the yeshivahs of Eastern Europe. The sermon is not a regular part of the service, but reserved for only special occasions. The synagogue is still regarded, especially by Old World Jews, as a social gathering place, a club. During lulls in the service it rings with the din of conversation about business and politics. Greetings are passed audibly to and fro. There is a pleasant informality about it all. The great majority of the members are of foreign birth, who still speak English falteringly. Most of the members are well up in years, a youth as an active member being almost a novelty. Until recently most of the orthodox members were of the poorer class, struggling small store-keepers, peddlers. In recent years, however, many of the members have grown quite wealthy, and some magnificent Orthodox synagogues have been built. Men and women worshipers are kept rigidly separated.

Most of the radical Jewish workmen are irreligious and pay but perfunctory attention to Judaism. The Communists, especially, are violent atheists, and assume a mocking attitude towards Jewish religious ceremonies. In short, the temple or synagogue does not reach the radical or union member.

There are 281 Reform congregations in the United States—members of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. These have a membership of some 57,000, while American Reform Jewry as a whole claims 250,000 adherents. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations is the oldest and best

organized American Jewish group, and by far the wealthiest. The annual budget of the Union is more than half a million dollars.

The headquarters and fountain-head of Reform Judaism in America is the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati—the largest rabbinical school in the world. It has 13 faculty members, headed by President Julian Morgenstern. Its more than 300 graduates occupy the most lucrative religious posts and have played the most prominent part in their communities. Up until 1922 the Hebrew Union College had a monopoly on the supply of rabbis for Reform pulpits, but in that year Rabbi Stephen S. Wise opened the Jewish Institute of Religion in New York City. The school was established to serve primarily in the interests of the Jews living on the Atlantic seaboard. The first graduation exercises were held in 1926.

The Central Conference of American Rabbis, which has more than 250 members, is the rabbinical arm of Reform Judaism. It has published the Union Prayer Book and other religious works, and its conferences map out the philosophy of Reform. Then there is the department of Synagogue and School Extension, the function of which is the religious education of the children of Reform members. It publishes textbooks and a magazine. Finally, the Commission on Jewish Education is engaged in mapping out a curriculum for Jewish religious education and for the training of religious school teachers.

On the lay side, there are the National Association of Temple Sisterhoods, organized in 1913, and the National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods, organized ten years later. The former has at present a membership of 60,000, and the latter one of 20,000. Their function is somewhat obscure, and mostly social in character. They stage drives, hold rather mild discussion groups, and plan feasts and parties on proper occasions.

Reform Judaism is slowly changing its front. In recent years it has been engaged in salvaging some of the religious practices which it overthrew in its early days. Its leaders are

seemingly putting more emphasis upon the value of ceremonials and religious symbols. Hebrew is playing a greater part in the services, and is being taught to a greater extent in the religious schools. It has lost its antipathy to Zionism, and is growing gradually more conservative, due perhaps to the influence of its recent Orthodox recruits.

The Reform congregations are adding to their rolls every year. Many Orthodox children attend the Temple schools, and are weaned over to the Reform camp. Reform congregations are increasingly being served by rabbis of Eastern European birth or descent.

Solomon Schechter, perhaps the most profound Jewish scholar ever brought to the United States, succeeded, in the period between 1902 and 1915, in establishing Conservative Judaism as one of the leading branches of Judaism in America. He preached and upheld traditional Judaism, tempering it only with certain changes to meet the exigencies of American life.

Conservative Judaism has now 214 congregations. Its headquarters is the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, in New York. Dr. Cyrus Adler, a friend, admirer, and disciple of Schechter, and himself one of the greatest Jewish scholars, is head of the seminary, which has several hundred of its graduates occupying many of the most prominent pulpits throughout the country. It has one of the finest teachers' training schools, and its library of 84,000 volumes and 6,000 manuscripts is the largest Jewish library in the United States. The United Synagogues of America, organized in 1913 by Schechter, is the congregation body of Conservative Judaism. It has 235 sisterhoods and a Young People's League.

Conservative Judaism includes many wealthy congregations. Its program, on the whole, seems to have been successful. It has kept many of the younger element by the activities which it has sponsored, such as athletics and dancing. It seems indeed to be the most rapidly growing body in American Judaism,

its members including some of the most prominent Jews in the country.

In its system of religious education, the Conservative synagogue cooperates usually with the Orthodox branch, from which, in its philosophy, it is nearly indistinguishable. The teaching is done by trained Hebrew teachers, in modern Talmud Torahs. Conservative Jewry is definitely pro-Zionist.

The Orthodox congregations are the newest and the most numerous. There are the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America with 178 members, and the Union of Orthodox Rabbis of the United States and Canada with 300 members, besides the host of smaller congregations which are not affiliated with any national organization. There is also the Federation of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, Inc., and the Women's Branch of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America.

The focal point of American Orthodoxy is the Rabbi Isaac Elchanan Theological Seminary and Yeshivah College in New York. The seminary was organized in 1896, and in 1928 the charter was amended to permit the organization of the Yeshivah College, which has been authorized by the Regents of the University of the State of New York to give courses leading to the degree of B.A. and B.S. The Yeshivah College is a new experiment in American Jewish education, being the first specifically Jewish college in the United States where general courses leading to the degree of Bachelor of Arts or Science are given. A huge endowment fund is being collected to maintain the college and seminary. It is an interesting experiment in providing a general college education in a Jewish atmosphere, and is being watched by many. In 1930 the seminary turned out 136 graduates, and the Teachers' Institute, run in conjunction with the seminary, 107. A second Orthodox seminary, the Hebrew Theological College, was organized in Chicago in 1921, with Rabbi Saul Silver as president. The college conducts both a rabbinical and teachers'

training course. Many of the congregations of the Middle West are being supplied from this source.

Bernard Drachman and M. S. Margolies are among the leaders in Orthodoxy, which, in recent years, has become strongly militant in its attempts to keep the younger generation true to the teachings of Hebrew Fundamentalism. It has been, and still is, an uphill battle, and many of the older members, especially in the mid-western synagogues, are pessimistic of the future. On holydays—especially on the high holydays of the year—the synagogues are crowded; but on Saturdays only a handful gather. Many congregations are instituting Friday night services, especially for the younger people, and many rabbis are advocating the five-day week of work, hoping that those Jews who do not work on Saturdays will take time to go to synagogue. However, although the five-day week idea has spread, the numbers in the synagogues on Saturdays have not increased proportionately at all. Orthodoxy refuses to change an iota of its code, and stands uncompromisingly behind every tenet of its faith. The increased number of American born Orthodox rabbis may work a change in the synagogues. Already more and more sermons are preached in English, some of the prayers have been translated into the language of the country, and efforts are being made to appeal to the younger element through special activities.

The future for religious Judaism in the United States is not overly bright. Faced with this situation, Jewish religious leaders in 1925 organized the Synagogue Council of America, to serve as an agency for the cooperative efforts of the three branches of American Judaism for the preservation of Jewish religion in the United States. It includes the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, the Rabbinical Council of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and Central Conference of American Rabbis, the United Synagogues of America, and the Rabbinical Assembly of the Jewish Theological College. Be-

sides, there is the Union of Sephardic Congregations, headed by the Rev. Dr. D. deSola Pool, of New York, whose purpose is to promote the religious interests of the Sephardic Jews. These Sephardic congregations are strictly Orthodox.

EDUCATION

It is estimated that 75% of the Jewish children in America get some Jewish religious training between the ages from seven to thirteen, and for which purpose more than eight and a half million dollars are spent annually. The religious schools range from the Saturday and Sunday schools of the Reform Temples to the week-day schools of the Conservative congregations, and the cheders and Talmud Torahs which are maintained by the entire Orthodox and Conservative Jewish community. Several cities of large Jewish population have regular Jewish boards of education which administer a number of Talmud Torahs providing a thorough Hebrew education. Graduates of these higher Hebrew schools are often admitted to the theological seminaries. The Jewish parochial schools, however—which were dropped in the 40's of the last century—have not been revived to any extent. Besides these purely religious and cultural Hebrew schools, there are Hebrew trade schools, teachers' training schools, and also a Jewish farm school—the latter in Doylestown, Pa. Yiddish schools are maintained by various workmen's and radical organizations. These are mainly nationalistic in tone, and usually either mute on the religious question, or definitely anti-religious.

More than 40,000 Jewish students are enrolled in American universities and colleges. There are 29 Jewish sororities and fraternities, with a membership of nearly 30,000. These secret societies were started when Jewish students were refused admittance to gentile fraternities. The first Jewish fraternity—Zeta Beta Tau—was established back in 1898. In 1906 the Menorah Society was founded at Harvard University, for the

purpose of promoting interest in Jewish culture. It is a purely secular organization, and has at present 51 branches and nearly 5,000 members. In 1929 the Menorah Association, Inc. was organized, with headquarters in New York City. This association includes the Intercollegiate Menorah Association, a student organization, and the Menorah Educational Conference, composed of Jewish university teachers. In 1925 there was organized the Council on American Jewish Student Affairs, the purpose of which is to deal with problems of interest to Jewish university students.

More important than the aforementioned societies, in its influence on Jewish students, is the B'nai Brith Hillel Foundation, organized in 1923 at the University of Illinois, and adopted and nationalized by the Independent Order B'nai Brith. By 1930 there were eight Hillel Foundations in as many universities, seven of them under the directorship of rabbis. These Foundations serve as centers for the Jewish students, and supply them with their social, religious, and intellectual needs. Both Reform and Orthodox services are arranged by the Foundation, and courses are given in Hebrew and Jewish history. The movement is spreading. It had its start in the middle-west, where the needs of the Jewish students were most neglected. The Hillel Foundations are doing what the synagogues and cheders failed to do: they are arousing interest in Judaism among the younger Jewish generation; they are stimulating intellectual inquiry into Jewish matters; they are bringing new blood into the American-Jewish body.

The Jewish student is generally more serious than his gentile colleague. He goes in strongly for the professions: law, medicine, dentistry, pharmacy. There is an ever growing tendency, however, to spread out in other fields. Many are studying engineering, architecture, teaching, and journalism. Increasingly they are going into scientific pursuits, such as chemistry, bacteriology, and physics. Teaching is especially popular among Jewish girls, with library and social work becoming more and more so.

In the field of books, the Jewish Publication Society has done the most praiseworthy work. It has produced an English translation of the Hebrew Bible which has become the standard among Jews in English speaking countries. The translation was financed by Jacob Schiff, and represents the result of seven years' work by a board of seven editors, including Dr. Solomon Schechter, Dr. Cyrus Adler, and Dr. Joseph Jacobs of the conservative camp, and Dr. David Philipson, Dr. Kaufmann Kohler, Dr. Samuel Schulman, and Professor Max Margolis, of Dropsie College. The Publication Society is engaged also in producing a series of Jewish classics in English. A new Jewish Encyclopedia is about to be published.

Scores of Jewish scholars are engaged in research in various phases of Judaism. The Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning publishes a quarterly review of scientific interest to Jewish scholars. The Jewish Palestine Exploration Society concerns itself with ancient Palestinian documents and relics. Intellectually, culturally, the center of gravity has shifted through the centuries from Palestine, Babylonia, and Egypt, to Spain, England, Holland, Germany, Russia, and finally America. It may be that the cycle is not yet complete; that the center of gravity of Jewish learning may shift back to Palestine; but until such a time America must remain the leader in Jewish cultural achievement of the present century.

CHARITY

The Jew, deservedly or not, has always had a reputation for charitableness and philanthropy. Charity has been one of the tenets of Judaism. It has been one of the proudest boasts of the Jew that he always takes care of his own unfortunates. It is estimated that American Jewry spends \$88,000,000 annually on religion, philanthropy, and education. Of this sum \$30,000,000 is spent for religious purposes,

\$8,000,000 for education, \$10,000,000 for foreign work, and \$40,000,000 for charity.

Every city with a sizable Jewish community has its charity organization, its orphan asylum, its free burial society, its old folks' home. In the larger cities are found Jewish hospitals. Altogether there are 59 local Jewish hospitals in the United States, of which 25 are in New York City, and 6 national hospitals and sanatoriums. The Independent Order B'nai Brith supports the National Jewish Hospital in Denver for tuberculosis, and one in Hot Springs, Arkansas, for blood diseases.

The Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society has for many years looked after the welfare of the immigrant Jew; the National Council of Jewish Women has played a very active part in Americanization work and the care of immigrant women and girls; while the Industrial Removal Office has concerned itself with spreading the immigrants over the land. With the stoppage of immigration, however, the American Jew has turned his attention chiefly to various forms of domestic aid.

Most important of the Jewish social agencies, in the past decade, have been the neighborhood centers, which essentially are an outgrowth of the settlements founded in the Jewish ghetto. Such centers are usually formed upon the basis of a Y.M.H.A. or a Y.W.H.A., a Talmud Torah or a synagogue. They appeal both to the young and old, offering for the one dramatics, athletics, debates, picnics, dances, and summer camps; and for the other lectures, mothers' associations, classes in Jewish and American subjects, in home economics and child care. Trained social workers conduct these centers, of which the Jewish Welfare Board is the national organization.

Of Jewish Federations there are 53 in the United States, their total annual budget amounting at present to nearly three and a half million dollars. Altogether, these Federations have 465 societies, the New York Federation alone supporting 91 constituent societies. In 1919 the Jewish Social Research, Inc.,

was organized in New York to investigate into the problems of Jewish social and communal work in the United States and other centers of Judaism, and six years later the Training School for Jewish Social Work was organized, also in New York City. Cooperating with the hundreds of Jewish charitable organizations throughout the country is the National Conference of Jewish Social Service, whose chief function is to study ways and means of eliminating waste in charities.

JEWISH ORDERS

Oldest and most important of the Jewish orders in the United States is the Independent Order B'nai Brith. Started by a group of poor German Jews back in 1843 as a purely social organization, the B'nai Brith developed later into a mutual benefit insurance society, and then into a philanthropic institution, founding and controlling orphans' and old people's homes, and is now an organization of international scope,³ engaged in education and Jewish defense work. Two of its latest and most significant efforts are the Hillel Foundation and the Anti-Defamation League. The B'nai Brith has at present 602 lodges, and a junior order—Aleph Zadik Aleph.

Organized in 1887 by Eastern European Jews who could not feel at home in the B'nai Brith, the Independent Order B'rith Abraham, with a present membership of 110,000, is the largest Jewish fraternal organization in America. It is a mutual benefit insurance organization, but engages itself also in extensive philanthropies. The membership of this order, and other Jewish orders founded by Eastern European Jews, has dwindled greatly in the last few years, due to the stoppage in immigration. With the cutting off of a new blood supply, and the gradual thinning out of the old, these insurance orders are facing sure extinction.

³ Fully one-fourth of the 85,000 members of the B'nai B'rith live abroad.

Other Jewish lodges include the Workmen's Circle—once a powerful organization among Jewish workmen, but now losing its influence, despite a membership of some 75,000; the Independent Order Brith Sholom, with a membership of about 22,000; the Jewish National Workers' Alliance, with about 7,000 members; the Independent Order Free Sons of Israel, with approximately 8,500 members; the Progressive Order of the West, with 10,000 members; the Independent Workmen's Circle, with about 6,000 members; and the Jewish Veterans of the Wars of the Republic, with a membership of some 20,000.

The National Council of Jewish Women, organized at the Columbian Exposition, in 1893, is the leading Jewish women's organization in America. With its 232 sections and 84 junior auxiliaries, it is engaged in religious, social welfare, civic and educational work.

There are also several young people's organizations, including the Young Judea and the Avukah—Zionist organizations—and the Young Poale Zion—a socialist Zionist organization. Besides these, practically all the national religious organizations have junior sections. These include the Council of Young Israel and Young Israel—synagogue organizations for the promotion of traditional Judaism; and the Mizrachi Hatzoir—a Zionist Orthodox organization.

Then there are the many social clubs in practically every Jewish community, such as country clubs, golf clubs, luncheon clubs, athletic clubs, business and professional men's clubs, and the landsmanshaften. The latter are groups composed of Jews of one district, such, for instance, as the Federation of Hungarian Jews of America, with 35,000 members; the Federation of Polish Jews in America; the Federation of Ukrainian Jews of America; and the United Rumanian Jews of America. As many, probably, as 150,000 Jews are affiliated with these landsmanshaften.

To tell the truth, American Jewry is over organized.

AMERICAN JEWS OF PROMINENCE

It is not the purpose here to enumerate a who's who of American Jewry. Certain names, however, because of their importance in American-Jewish history, demand mention. American Jewish history, as well as all history, revolves, to a great extent, around certain significant, pivotal figures.

Few men, there are, who have played so prominent a part in American Jewish life as Jacob H. Schiff. From the period of 1880 to 1914 Jacob Schiff was probably the best known and most prominent Jew in America. Coming from Frankfort on the Main, the most aristocratic Jewish community in Europe, at the age of 18, Schiff identified himself with Kuhn, Loeb and Company, and built up this banking company until it ranked second only to Morgan and Company. He was especially prominent in railroad finance, and was to a significant extent responsible for the successes of such men as Harriman and Hill.

With all his business connections and his tremendous wealth, Schiff was a real Jew, pious, well versed in Jewish and Hebrew learning, and perhaps the greatest philanthropist in American Jewry. He aided the Young Men's Hebrew Association; financed the reorganization of the Jewish Theological Seminary; built the Semitic museum at Harvard; established Jewish departments in the New York Public Library and the Library of Congress; furnished the money for the translation of the Bible and Hebrew classics into English; and gave financial aid to Barnard College and Cornell University. He helped found the American Jewish Committee; took part in the Congress movement; and was in the forefront of every Jewish cause up to his death in 1920.

From the shoulders of the aging Schiff the mantle of Jewish leadership fell on the younger ones of Louis Marshall—a great constitutional lawyer, and a still greater pleader for Jewish rights. For many years head of the American Jewish Com-

mittee, he stood before the world as the representative of American Jewry. Although a non-Zionist—and indeed head of the non-Zionist group in America—he joined with Chaim Weizmann in the founding of the Jewish Agency. President of Temple Emanu-El, and of the Jewish Theological Seminary, a fighter for Jewish rights and liberties, fearless, a stubborn foe of anti-Semitism, his death in September, 1929, was a terrible blow to American Jewry.

Felix Warburg, a member of the firm of Kuhn, Loeb and Company, has acted as head of the Joint Distribution Committee, and later of the American Jewish Agency. With the death of Marshall, he is probably the logical Jewish leader in America.

Julius Rosenwald, head of Sears, Roebuck and Company—the largest mail order house in the world—is another of the great modern Jewish leaders in America. Rosenwald has given tens of millions to various philanthropies, and because of his special interest in the education of Negroes of the south, he is regarded by many of them as a second Lincoln.

David A. Brown, once candidate for mayor of Detroit, is perhaps the greatest Jewish organizer in America. He has been eminently successful in raising huge funds for the relief of foreign Jewry. Nathan Straus was another of those great pivotal figures in American Jewish history, although his benefactions knew no creed. His largest work was the Straus Milk Fund. Finally there is Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, of the Free Synagogue in New York, who is unquestionably the most noted Jew in the American pulpit. He has been especially active in the Jewish Congress Movement, and was one of the original American Zionists.

JEWS IN INDUSTRY, TRADE, AND FINANCE

Jews are now found in practically every industry, although they are still concentrated in the needle trades, which they

practically control. Probably the leading Jews in American industry are the Guggenheims, who, together with Adolph Lewisohn and his family, control the copper mining industry, and are engaged now in all branches of metal work. Seven sons of a father who came to this country during the German-Jewish immigration before the Civil War, and started in the crockery business, they have built up one of the largest fortunes in America. Simon Guggenheim became a senator. Daniel Guggenheim, the patron of Lindbergh, has given millions to build up the aviation industry. Harry Guggenheim, his son, is ambassador to Cuba.

In banking and finance, Kuhn, Loeb and Company has been the outstanding Jewish firm in America. Otto Kahn, Felix Warburg, and Paul Warburg have carried on the business traditions of the firm. Then there are the Hellmans and Eugene Meyer of Los Angeles; the Greenebaums and Strauses of Chicago; the Lehmans, Sachs, Ungerleider, and Baruch of New York. About fifteen percent of the brokers on Wall Street are said to be Jews.

In the department store field, Macy's, Gimbel's, Bamberger's, and Filene's are owned by Jews. Jews, too, have been prominent in the radio industry. David Sarnoff, head of the Radio Corporation of America, has been the outstanding man in this new field. Joseph David Freed, president of the Freed-Eiseman Radio Corporation, is also a Jew.

In the amusement field Jews hold the reins. Fox, Warner Brothers, Laemmle, Loew, and Goldwyn control the screen output while Balaban and Katz manage the Publix outfit.

Jews have also become prominent as builders. Louis Horowitz, head of the Thompson Starrett Company, is probably the greatest figure in the building industry. Then there are the Chanin Brothers, Benjamin Winter, Frederick W. Brown, and A. E. Lefcourt—all of them outstanding men in the profession.

Jews have changed the complexion of New York with their skyscrapers. They have helped build up practically every large city in the United States. They are especially active

as real estate men, and are the largest holders of residence property in the country.

JEWS IN POLITICS, PROFESSIONS, AND SCIENCES

Lawyer, doctor, engineer, teacher, publisher, writer, scholar, statesman—the Jew is prominent in each. In law, especially, has the Jew achieved most notable recognition. There are Felix Frankfurter, Bryne Professor of Administrative Law at Harvard; Arthur Garfield Hays, former counsel in the Dayton “monkey trial,” and the Sacco-Vanzetti case; Max Steuer, perhaps the most brilliant American trial lawyer; Samuel Untermyer, who received a fee of \$775,000 for carrying through the merger of the Utah Copper Company and the Boston Consolidated and Nevada Consolidated companies; Monte Lemann of New Orleans, member of the Wickersham Commission, and the only one who refused to sign the prohibition report; Abram I. Elkus, who served as Ambassador and Envoy Plenipotentiary to the Ottoman Empire, from 1916 to 1919, and as Ambassador to Turkey during the World War; Judge Julian Mack, of the United States Circuit Court; Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court; and Benjamin N. Cardozo, of New York, called the outstanding state judge in the country.

In politics Jews have not until recently played so great a part. Six Jews have sat in the Senate: David Yulee, Florida; Judah P. Benjamin and Benjamin Franklin Jonas, Louisiana; Joseph Simon, Oregon; Isador Rayner, Maryland; and Simon Guggenheim, Colorado. More than half a hundred Jews have been in Congress.

Jewish ambassadors and ministers include Morgenthau, Abram I. Elkus, Oscar Straus (the only Jew to have sat in the Cabinet), and Solomon Hirsch—all of whom have represented the United States in Turkey; Ira Nelson Morris, in

Sweden; Rabbi Joseph Kornfeld, in Persia; Lewis Einstein, in Czecho-Slovakia; and Herman Bernstein, in Albania.

Recently, two Jews have been elected State Governors: Arthur Seligman in New Mexico and Julius L. Meier in Oregon. Moses Alexander was Governor of Idaho from 1915 to 1919; while Simon Bamberger was the only non-Mormon to rule the State of Utah. Herbert Lehman was elected Lieutenant Governor of New York in 1928; while Ottinger, Republican candidate for Governor of New York, lost out by a comparatively few votes.

Jews have been especially prominent in medicine. Dr. Simon Flexner, a native of Louisville, Kentucky, is director of the laboratories of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. Dr. Joseph Goldberger discovered the cause and cure of pellagra, one of the most dreaded scourges of the South. Dr. Jacques Loeb succeeded in artificially impregnating a female frog and producing offspring without the aid of a male parent. Bela Schick is the inventor of the Schick test for diphtheria. Max Huehner developed the Huehner test for sterility. Reuben Leon Kahn, the bacteriologist, is the originator of the Kahn test for syphilis, which is gradually displacing the Wasserman test. Morris Fishbein is editor of the *American Medical Journal*. Max Einhorn, stomach specialist and inventor of the Einhorn stomach tube, is a Jew and so is Dr. Meyer Solis-Cohen, assistant Professor of Medicine at the University of Pennsylvania.

Jews are amply represented in the various fields of research and scholarship. In philosophy there are Morris R. Cohen and Horace M. Kallen. Among the leading psychologists in the country are Dr. Abraham A. Brill, the greatest psychoanalyst in America, and translator of Freud; Joseph Jastrow, Professor Emeritus at the University of Wisconsin, and Boris Sidis. The chief anthropologists in America are Jews. They include Franz Boas, of Columbia University; Alexander Goldenweiser, professor at the New School for Social Research in New York; and Leo Joachim Frachtenberg. Among the leading oriental-

ists in this country are Maurice Bloomfield, Richard James Horatio Gottheil and Morris Jastrow. Economics and the social sciences have a strong appeal to the Jewish mind. Felix Adler, founder and leader of the Ethical Culture movement, is professor of social and political ethics at Columbia. Jacob H. Hollander is professor of political economy at Johns Hopkins University. Edwin R. A. Seligman formerly taught political economy at Columbia. Isaiah Leo Sharfman is professor of economics at the University of Michigan. Professor Julius Drachslor is an authority on sociology. Professor E. Taussig is one of the outstanding economists in America. Among the younger men are Leo Wolman and Professor Isaac Hourwich.

Jews have proven highly successful as book publishers. Among them are Alfred A. Knopf, Albert and Charles Boni, Horace Liveright, Nicholas L. Brown, Thomas Seltzer, Henry Schnittkind, Benjamin Huebsch, Charles Edward Bloch, Emanuel Haldeman, founder and editor of the Little Blue Books, of which more than 100,000,000 were sold in nine years, and Arthur and Lowell Brentano.

In science and invention Jews have made significant contributions. Charles P. Steinmetz, called the wizard of electricity and the man who made artificial thunderbolts, was a Jew. Born in Germany, he came to this country as a youth, and, despite his physical handicaps, rose to the position of consulting engineer of the General Electric Company at an early age. Probably the greatest mathematical genius in America, many of the advances in the electrical industry are due to his researches and formulas. Equally famous in a kindred field is Albert Abraham Michelson, perhaps the greatest physicist in America, and winner of the Nobel prize for physics (\$40,000) in 1907.⁴ Julius Steiglitz, one of the

⁴ Albert A. Michelson, the Einstein of America, was born in Germany. He came to America at an early age, spent his childhood in the far west, won an appointment to the U. S. Naval Academy at Annapolis, where he began his career as a teacher. He has won every honor that can be conferred upon a distinguished scientist. He has measured

greatest chemists America has produced, is a Jew. So are Professor Moses Gomberg, one of the greatest authorities in organic chemistry; Emile Berliner, inventor of the telephone transmitter and the first workable flying machine of the helicopter type; Leon M. Moisseff, one of the greatest bridge engineers in the United States, and designer of the Manhattan Bridge and the Interstate Bridge, connecting Philadelphia with Camden, N. J.; Fritz Lowenstein, inventor of the wireless switch wave; Dr. Louis Cohen, who aided in eliminating static from radio reception; Dr. Arthur Korn, inventor of a new device to transmit photographs by radio; Henry Arnstein, one of the chief chemical engineers in America, and Albert Kahn, one of the leading architects in the country, and, at present, architectural adviser to the Soviet Russian government.

EPILOGUE

The story is told. Not the whole story, of course, for it is a story without an end. We have seen the Jew rise to eminence in America, just as he has risen to eminence in every country where he has been allowed a breath of freedom.

An America without Jews is inconceivable. It is as easy to picture a Jewless America as to picture her without the moving picture industry, without Hollywood and Los Angeles, without Broadway, without the fur and clothing industry, without her jewelry trade, without her concert stage, without many of her mightiest bridges, her richest banks, her tallest buildings.

What the Jews mean and have meant to America as an economic and cultural force can not be easily overestimated. In point of numbers the Jews form only one-thirtieth of the population of the country; yet in every industry, business, or

the length of the waves of light and the speed of light, and his researches were the basis for Einstein's Theory of Relativity.

profession at least one out of every five of the leading figures in each field is a Jew.

The Jew has brought color into American life. He is not the drab, mediocre, commonplace citizen. He has vigor, imagination, daring. He has ideas. He has brains. Above all, young America needed ideas and brains.

The Jew has been accused of many things. Some of the accusations are true. But these accusations are true not only of the Jews but of all other racial groups as well. It is said that Jews herd, segregate themselves; but so do Germans, Irish, Scotch, French, Scandinavians, Poles, etc. This is a human characteristic, not a Jewish one. It is said that Jews are grasping, avaricious, money loving; yet philanthropy finds its greatest expression among the Jews. It is said that Jews are not clean, that they run down a neighborhood; yet the Jewish housewife is noted for her cleanliness, and the Mosaic law puts a premium on sanitation and clean living. If the ghetto is pointed to as an example of the uncleanness of the Jew, it is forgotten that the Irish, Italians, Russians and Poles live in the same ghettos, and that the dirt and squalor is the result of poverty and faulty politics rather than racial habit or way of living. This thing has been said and that thing has been said, but nothing more is behind it all than jealousy or envy, or a blind, vague, uncomprehended, inherited wish to hate.

Anti-Semitism has had less fertile soil to grow in in America than in any other country in the western world. In the past two decades Henry Ford and the Ku Klux Klan have been the chief anti-Jewish threats; but the first gave up its teeth voluntarily, as it were, and the second has failed as yet to achieve any notable results. Anti-Semitism in America is still a subtle, whispered thing; something sensed, felt under the skin, as it were. In all probability, it will never amount to more than that. The reason is not that the Jew is hated less here, but that he has grown too strong for physical violence.

Speculations as to the future of Judaism in America are

positively idle. Judaism will last in America as long as it will last elsewhere. Nothing can stop Judaism except complete biological assimilation.

Whether Orthodoxy will last is another question. But Judaism and Orthodoxy must not be confused. Nor Judaism and Reform, nor indeed Judaism and any particular set of religious beliefs. The outlook for the continuance of religious Judaism in the United States is certainly not over-bright. Yet many of those who are most violently anti-religious are as violently pro-Jewish, which would indicate that Judaism as a racial entity, as a biologic fact, as an ethnic content even, has a life and a vitality entirely independent, or independent to a large degree, of religious or theologic tradition. This biologic, psychologic, ethnic content, acquired during centuries of racial history, and transmitted through centuries of racial contact, will continue, chiefly through its own momentum, for many centuries more.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The writers have consulted a large number of books, articles, newspapers, etc. in the writing of this history. To enumerate all these, while it would perhaps make an impressive list in point of size, would be of little value to the scholar, and of no interest to the average reader. Of no value to the scholar because our bibliography would represent no new source materials; and of no interest to the average reader because average readers are notoriously unconcerned with bibliographies. However, our indebtedness to a number of books and articles is so great that not to mention them would be nothing short of gross ingratitude. Of these, first mention must be given to that veritable mine of source materials—the publications of the American Jewish Historical Society. These publications were of inestimable value in the writing of the early chapters, covering the period from 1492 to 1848. Of almost equal value

in the writing of the later chapters, say from the period 1900 to 1930, were the volumes of the *American Jewish Year Book*.

Of general histories on the subject, only one—Peter Wiernik's *History of the Jews in America*—proved helpful to the authors. Indeed, this book was until recently the only authoritative work on the subject. Other histories, such as Madison C. Peters' *The Jews in America*, Isaac Markens' *The Hebrews in America*, and George Cohen's *Jews in the Making of America*, offered little or no new material. (It should be mentioned that Levinger's *A History of the Jews in the United States*, and Anita Levenson's *Jewish Pioneers in America* were not published until after our book had been written.)

For the material in Chapter Three we drew heavily upon Daly's *A Settlement of the Jews in North America*. Simon Wolf's *The American Jew as Patriot, Soldier and Citizen*, was very helpful in the writing of the chapters on the Revolutionary and Civil wars. For our treatment of the subject of Judaism and its influence upon American Democracy we are largely indebted to the writings of Oscar Straus, particularly *Origin of the Republican Form of Government*. David Philipson's *The Reform Movement in Judaism* proved the most satisfactory general treatment of this subject, and we availed ourselves freely of its materials.

Among the books utilized in the writing of the chapter on the Eastern European Jew in America were Charles S. Bernheimer's *The Russian Jew in America* and S. Joseph's *Jewish Immigration into the United States*. For our treatment of the Jews in the needle trades we relied almost entirely upon Louis Levine's *The Women's Garment Workers*, Isaac Hourwich's *Immigration and Labor*, and S. Kopald's and B. M. Selikman's articles in the "Menorah Journal" *The Epic of the Needle Trades*.

M. Soltes' *The Yiddish Press* is the best book on the subject to date. For material on Jews in art, literature, drama, etc., magazine and newspaper articles provided practically the only sources of information.

Mention, too, should be made of a number of biographies and autobiographies. These include: Henry Morgenthau's *All in a Lifetime*, Isaac M. Wise's *Reminiscences*, David Philipson's *Max Lilienthal* and *Letters of Rebecca Gratz*, Max B. May's *Isaac M. Wise*, James W. Wise's *Jews Are Like That*, Oscar S. Straus' *Under Four Administrations*, Charles Edward Russell's *Haym Salomon*, A. B. Makover's *Mordecai M. Noah*, Jacob De Haas' *Louis D. Brandeis*, etc.

Finally, mention must be made of such general Jewish and American histories and source books as *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, Max Raisin's *History of the Jews in Modern Times*, Graetz's *History of the Jews*, Margolis and Marx's *A History of the Jewish People*, A. L. Sachar's *A History of the Jews*, Beard's *The Rise of American Civilization*, Hendrik Van Loon's *New Amsterdam*, Dubnow's *History of the Jews of Russia and Poland*, etc.

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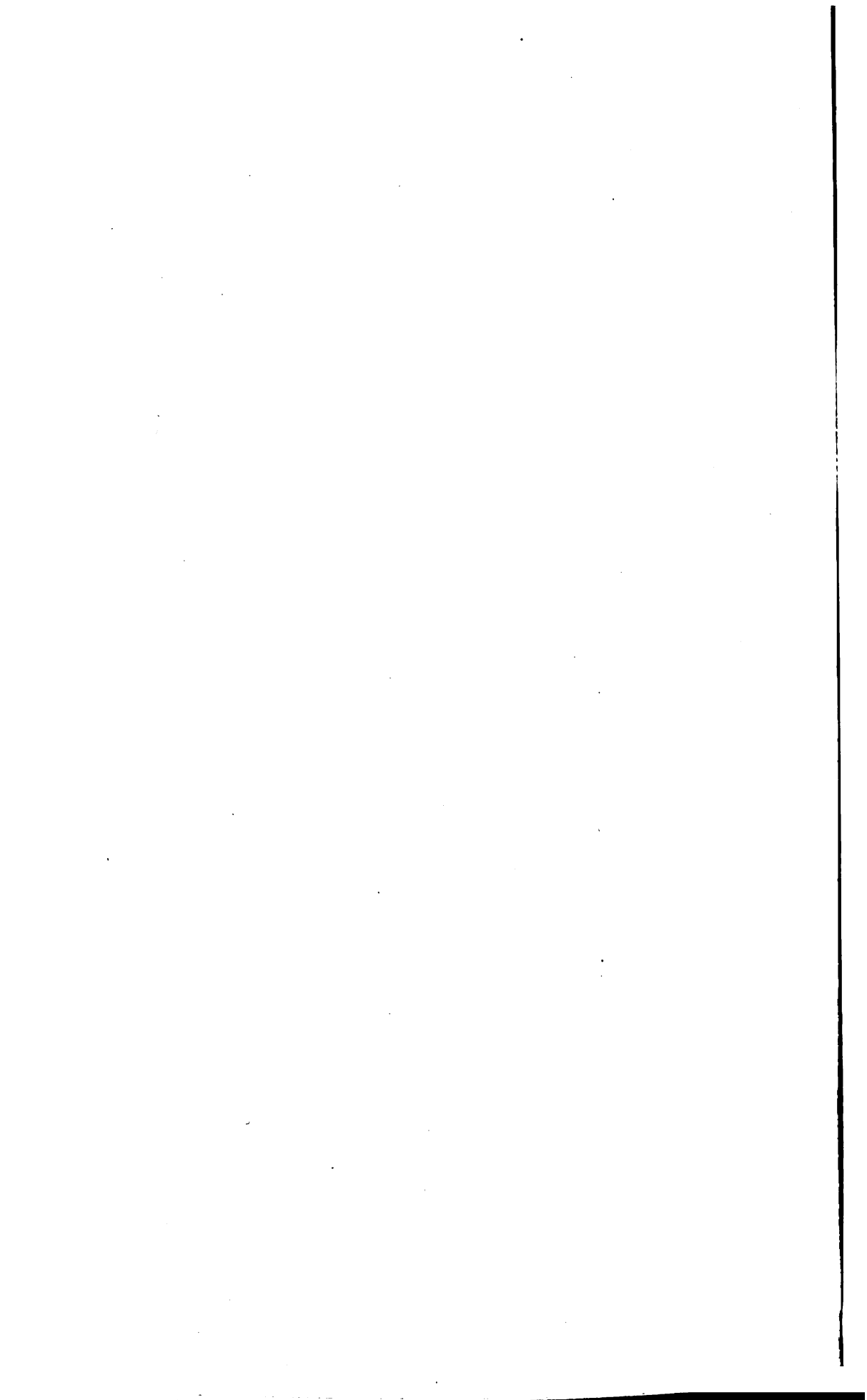
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